

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 13, 1873.

The Week.

THE President in his second inaugural says that "the past four years, so far as I could control events, have been consumed in the effort to restore harmony, public credit, commerce, and all the arts of peace and progress"; expresses it as his firm conviction "that the civilized world is tending towards republicanism, or representative government," and that our own great "republic is destined to be the guiding star of all others"; that the negro ought to have "access to schools," and ought to be made to feel assured, "when he travels," "that his conduct will regulate the treatment and the fare he will receive"; that to the grant of these civil rights he himself "stands committed, so far as executive influence can avail." As to the Southern States, he declares them "rehabilitated," and says that no executive control is exercised in them that would not be exercised anywhere; so Chicago and Boston may contemplate New Orleans with new interest. With reference to the acquisition of foreign territory, the President believes in it, but will not recommend any more schemes looking that way, unless the people have first given them their support, because he believes that "our great Maker is preparing the world in his own good time to become one nation," with one common language, and with no armies or navies. The President promises to direct his efforts for the future to the restoration of good feeling, the return to specie payments, or, at least, the establishment of a fixed relation between gold and paper, the construction of "cheap routes of transit," the maintenance of friendly relations abroad, the re-establishment of our commerce and carrying trade, protection of such manufactures as can be "economically" produced here for the sake of a return to specie payments through a good condition of the balance of trade, the "elevation of labor," and humane attempts to civilize the Indians. He promises to reform the civil service, and, in conclusion, thanks the American people for vindicating him by a re-election against the abuse and slander he has suffered in their service. The most noticeable part of the address was perhaps that part in which the President speaks of the fact that ever since 1861 he has had laid upon him a great burden of responsibility, from which he shall be glad to escape. Or, rather, this is the passage at once most noticeable and most to be commended. Other parts of it are noticeable enough, and have called out much rather wondering comment.

The most significant feature of the inauguration festivities was the grand ball, attended by the President, his Cabinet, and the foreign ministers, and by citizens "without distinction of race, color, or previous condition." "Social equality," the President had just said publicly from the Capitol, "is not a subject to be legislated upon, nor shall I ask that anything be done to advance the social status of the colored man except to give him a fair chance to develop what there is good in him"; and these words, interpreted by his action in the evening of the same day, mark an epoch in the national feeling towards the colored race. They confirm the opinion which we expressed last week, that with the Forty-second Congress the war period ended for whites and blacks alike. It has taken eighty-four years to place the head of the Republic on a social equality with the servile population of 1789; but that being effected, to the lasting credit of the American people, there remains no excuse for the old party divisions, and little reason for supposing that on general questions of public policy there will be any greater unanimity among the blacks than among the whites. West Point cadets dancing in the same set with the wives of colored Congressmen; James Brooks renouncing his opposition to the colored race in return for the exultatory vote of his colored colleagues; Cuban annexation urged not

by white Democratic filibusters, but by colored Republicans in convention; colored Bostonians petitioning the Massachusetts Legislature to expunge its censure of Mr. Sumner for his battle-flag resolutions—such are some of the signs of the times to which this Congress of the transition has delivered us, giving us for a cue not the suppression of the Ku-klux, but the abolition of the franking privilege, the civil-service regulations, and the Credit Mobilier investigation.

Nothing, we think, which any Congress has done for many years has excited as much public indignation as the vote of the "back pay" to themselves by the gentlemen of the Forty-second, who have just gone home. The obscurity of most of them will of course be a sufficient shield hereafter, and will enable them to enjoy the money in peace. But the offence differs little, if at all, from that of a president of a bank who should raise his own salary in the middle of his year, pay himself out of the till, and then resign, and set the directors at defiance. In fact, it is worse; because a bank president would know that he might be reached by the law, while Congressmen know they are safe against the only pursuit which for many of them has any terrors—that of criminal justice. One of the most striking results of the caucus system is that it has given us a class of "statesmen" on whom the opinion of the decent and moral elements of American society has absolutely no influence, and who revel in an unprecedented callousness. It is just possible, however, that a good many, if not all, of the minority who voted against the bill consider that they have thus discharged their obligations to virtue, and that they may now pocket the money along with the Butlerites. We trust constituencies will do all in their power to dissipate this delusion, and that the neighbors of returned legislators will make them understand that it is as disgraceful to take the money as to vote for it. Congress is not without historical precedent for its performance, to be sure; but, on the other hand, neither are the people without historical precedent for their disgust and their clamor, and their punishment of this kind of legislation.

The New York Times has made an analysis of the final vote which has some very instructive features. The back pay was voted by 99 against 97. Of these ninety-nine forty-seven were furnished by the South, out of a total of fifty-nine votes possessed by that section in the House, or nearly 80 per cent. Only four came from New England, and, as might have been expected from the later political history of that State, Massachusetts furnished every one of the four—Messrs. Ben. Butler, Oakes Ames, Ginery Twichell, and N. P. Banks, while New York City only furnished one, and he was the renowned Fernando Wood. The Senate majority, which still remains behind in Washington to bear the pitiless pelting of the storm, defends itself on the ground that the "back pay" from which mileage has to be deducted, was intended simply to equalize the salaries received by the members during the last session, so that those who come from places near the capital might get as much as those from a distance. The answer to this is, that the country wants neither "equity" from Congress, nor any attempts of a superfine kind to remove the inequalities of this wicked and suffering world, especially in money matters; that the law of the land, and the rules of old-fashioned honesty common among "plain people," are all that we care to have either House take as its guide in legislation; and that for anything more delicate than these we prefer to apply to the Courts or the Church.

The result of the finding of the Senate Committee favoring the pretensions of the McEnery Legislature, and the failure of the Senate to pronounce positively in favor of either of the two so-called governments in Louisiana, was that the McEnery party most fool-

ishly and wickedly resorted to violence on Wednesday the 5th inst., by collecting an armed but unorganized body of men whom they called "militia," and with whom they made an attack on the metropolitan police in the service of the Kellogg party. They succeeded in capturing a station-house and having a little fight the next day, in which a few men were killed and wounded, but they were worsted and finally dispersed or made prisoners—the United States troops coming into the field against them at the last. The attempt was made the more foolish and criminal by the fact, which was perfectly well known, that the Federal Government would support the Kellogg party, which would of course have made the victories of the "militia" idle. What reason the Federal Government has for supporting Kellogg we do not know, except that he is the Custom-house candidate. That it should continue to support him after the strong expression of opinion by the Senate Committee is doubtless very unfortunate, but it was useless to expect anything else in view of Casey's case, and the responsibility of the affair must undoubtedly be laid at the door of the Senate, which might have settled the question but did not. It can still do so by indirectly admitting McMillan, the McEnery candidate, to his seat—a step which the President would doubtless treat as a sufficient indication of his duty in the matter. The McEnery Legislature has in the meantime been dispersed, but a committee of the body has published a clear, temperate, and very able address to the people of the United States and of the State, quoting the conclusions of the Senate Committee, explaining the situation in Louisiana, and protesting with great earnestness and dignity against the mode in which Federal interference has been exercised. Passive resistance to the Kellogg government by refusal to pay taxes, and all other peaceful means, has been determined on, and we think the malcontents will have the sympathy and good wishes of all those in all parts of the country who wish to see Custom-house and Carpet-bag rule, and their attendant disorders, quickly and for ever ended.

Mr. Caleb Cushing is reported to be the author of a plea in behalf of Senator Caldwell which appears to be finding some favor, and of which, should it be successful, the result would be in substance this: A Senator-elect presents his credentials, which are regular, is sworn in, and becomes a member of the Senate. The Senate by-and-by hears that the new Senator bought his way into his seat, and the new Senator requests a committee of investigation. The committee make a report which satisfies the Senate that the charge is sustained. But when all this is done, nothing is done, and the man is, in spite of it, a Senator. For the State Legislature cannot invalidate his credentials; it exhausts its power when its vote has made him a Senator; thenceforth the Senate has jurisdiction as against the State. Nor can the Senate touch him; for, no matter whether he has bribed State legislators or not, it was the State acting in its sovereign capacity that gave him his credentials, and the Senate must not go behind the State's action, ignorant though that may have been. "A careful canvass of the Senate makes it doubtful," we are told, "if the report of the committee will be sustained"; but how much of this dubiety is caused by Mr. Cushing's argumentation we are not informed. Messrs. Logan, Anthony, and Carpenter are said to be in doubt if the evidence is sufficient; some Democratic Senators are said to be in doubt about their legal right to pass Mr. Morton's resolution (declaring Mr. Caldwell "not duly and legally elected"); and some honorable gentlemen have their doubts if Mr. Caldwell, having been proved to have bought only two legislators, whereas he had a majority of twenty odd, is not "legally elected," and a nice enough man for Senator anyhow. As for the public opinion on this matter, there is no doubt anywhere of what that is—at least among a sufficiently large section of the public to make all this very dismal work for somebody before very long. The cases of Judge Durell and Judge Sherman also are, we trust, being borne in mind by a certain number of people.

Mr. Schuyler Colfax has had "an ovation" from his fellow-citizens at South Bend, who received him with great rejoicings; and, after hearing at a public meeting his account of his connection with the Crédit Mobilier affair, passed a resolution expressing "undiminished confidence in his honor and integrity both as a public man and as a private citizen," and styling him "a model statesman, temperate and faithful to principles." Mr. Colfax in his speech relied for his defence mainly on the evidence which Oakes Ames first gave, and on the "strong impression" of the cashier of the Sergeant-at-Arms that he paid the "S. C." check to Ames himself. Mr. Colfax gets out of the South Bend speech during the campaign by laying stress on the words "gave or offered to give," which, however, he did not emphasize in the speech, and which he used with such a context as to leave the impression on the public mind that he had never held Crédit Mobilier stock in any manner whatever. We wish, too, he had explained in some satisfactory manner the extraordinary evidence in which he described his own surprise and that of his family at receiving the \$1,000 bill from Nesbitt, as a person who was "almost an entire stranger to him," when the facts were, as he afterwards confessed, that Nesbitt was anything but a stranger to him; that he had received money from him previously, and had relations with him which made the coming of the \$1,000 bill a by no means startling occurrence. We should like very much to know what Mr. Colfax's notion of credibility is, but, having heard it, we should like to have him close his lips on the subject of Crédit Mobilier stock for ever. He has carried off from Washington a letter from the President, expressing the strongest confidence in his integrity, which would, as the *Tribune* points out, have been of some value if the President had not also written Mr. Tom Murphy a letter expressive of affectionate admiration.

Mr. Ames's friends are going, we believe, to give him a dinner and reception at Boston, and express, we suppose, undiminished confidence in his integrity, and hold him up as another "model statesman." As the people of Easton are just as upright, pious, and patriotic as the people of South Bend, and as, if Ames is a "model statesman," Colfax is a great rascal, and *vice versa*, the rest of the community is plunged in perplexity by these testimonials, somewhat like that created by the practice of singing *Te Deums* over battles by hostile armies. The only way we know of avoiding this perplexity, in the present condition of public morals, is by hammering away at vice in the abstract, and avoiding all censure of vicious men. Vice has no friends, and everybody is therefore willing to attack it; but a vicious man is always surrounded by "friends" who would not "withdraw their confidence" from him if they saw him riding on a broomstick in the air in company with a black goat.

The society calling itself the National Association, which recently closed its annual convention in this city, has called forth more comment this year than ever before, but the approval that it secures appears to be in an inverse ratio to the attention it attracts. It has at its head a Justice of the Supreme Court, and numbers of other gentlemen of ability and repute; its motive is seen to be excellent, and its object on the face of it as good; but it meets with slight success. It proposes to secure, as a Sixteenth Amendment, we suppose, a change in the Constitution acknowledging that "Almighty God is the author of the nation's existence, and the ultimate source of its authority, that Jesus Christ is its ruler, and that the Bible is the fountain of its laws." This, it will be seen, would abrogate that part of the Sixth Article which, after providing that certain public servants shall make oath or affirmation to support the Constitution, provides that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." The reasons why the abrogation of this provision will in all probability never be made are many, but two which will be efficiently operative are these, one of them influential in the religious world (as distinguished from the secular) and the other operative in both: many

religious persons will object to basing the reverence for divine things upon the law of the land, or any appearance of calling force, upon which law rests, to the propagation of religion. Secondly, this proposed Sixteenth Amendment is generally felt to be the first Amendment which instead of extending and advancing the genius of our institutions goes against it, diminishing the rights of the individual and limiting a freedom which has not as yet been found harmful. The new amendment would disqualify for holding United States offices of whatsoever kind all Jews; a majority of Unitarians; all Roman Catholics who believe that the Bible without tradition and an apostolic church as its interpreters is a guide speaking in an unknown tongue; all deists and other unbelievers of various kinds; all future believers seeking religious certitude, but as yet without definite result, and very many other persons of tender consciences, who for one reason and another would hesitate at taking comprehensive oaths relating to so delicate and difficult a subject. The proportion of the population who would be thus disqualified is very large. Enough would be left to fill the offices, however. Mr. Harlan would take the oath, for instance; so would Mr. Jay Gould.

Mr. Gladstone has introduced a bill into the House of Commons for settling the much vexed question of Irish university education, and some of its provisions, in the nature of concessions to the Catholics, are perhaps among the most extraordinary attempts at religious equality ever ventured on. The university is not only forbidden to examine in theology, or to appoint any professor or teacher in theology, modern history, or moral or mental philosophy (all of which fields the Church reserves to herself), but "to attach any disqualification to any candidate in any examination, by reason of his adopting in modern history, moral or mental philosophy, *law*, *medicine*, or any other branch of learning, any particular theory in preference to any other theory." The *Pall Mall Gazette* points out that this is really requiring the examiner to confess that he knows no more about the subject on which he examines than the candidate, and suggests, in illustration of its absurdity, the possibility of a medical student's propounding the theory that the view of the condition of the blood held by the proprietor of Morrison's pills was the true one. It would be a convenience, however, in some way—as it would enable homeopathic and allopathic doctors to live in peace; but then it would offer a chance to quacks of all kinds to get themselves into good and regular standing, such as they have never had before in the history of learning. In this country a university thus organized would, for instance, be pretty sure to have to examine Mr. Stephen Pearl Andrews in "Pantarchy," a subject in which he would necessarily receive the highest marks, as the examiner could never follow him. The provision is worth notice as a sign of the working of the widespread tendency to acknowledge not only that one man is as good as another, but that one man knows as much as another, and that, therefore, all examination is an arrogant and offensive process, and unrepugnant to boot, inasmuch as it may place a citizen under the painful and humiliating necessity of confessing his ignorance. The House of Commons has rejected the bill.

The reorganization of the courts in England proposed by the Lord Chancellor, to which our correspondent makes allusion, consists in converting the four courts, Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer, and Chancery, into one "High Court," having four divisions, among which the judges will be divided, but the Lord Chief-Justice will be president of the whole. Over this there will be one Court of Appeal, composed of the Lord-Chancellor, the presidents of the four divisions of the High Court, together with the judicial members of the Privy Council, the Lords-Justices, and three other judges, and this will exercise the appellate jurisdiction now lodged in the House of Lords in all except ecclesiastical, Scotch, and Irish cases. The exclusion of these is due to the fear, as regards the first, of exciting tremendous opposition to the whole scheme among churchmen, and, as regards the other two, to the fact that to make

the Scotch and Irish appeal to an English court in which they are not represented, instead of to a legislative body in which they are represented, would be treated as a violation of the compacts made at the time of the legislative union, and an outrage on whatever is left of their national feeling; but that the jurisdiction of the House of Lords will long survive, even as to their cases, it is difficult to believe. One argument used by Lord Selborne in the debate on the constitution of the Court of Appeal, is worth attention here as well as in England, viz.: That no matter how many appeals you allow, litigants will avail themselves of them all, and never be satisfied till they have reached the last resort. Therefore, when you have made your court below as good as you can, it is best to present the suitor with his last chance, the minute he comes out of it, but into this chance you ought to put all the learning and integrity you can command.

The "coal famine," however, is the problem which in England overshadows all others, and seems as far from solution as ever. Its main facts are that, according to the best estimates, the coal-fields of England will only supply 80,000 millions of tons more; that these are now being used up at the rate of 110,000,000 tons a year, and with such waste that it is estimated that the same amount of work might be done with 80,000,000 tons, while the annual increase in consumption has for a good while back been 3,000,000 tons; that at this rate of increase the industrial resources of England would be exhausted and the decline of the empire precipitated in 12½ years from this time, inasmuch as it is not believed that more than 40,000 millions of tons is sufficiently accessible or of sufficiently good quality to maintain her present industrial efficiency; that in the meantime the price of coal has advanced during the past year \$2 per ton, which is calculated as being the equivalent of an increase of taxation to the amount of \$220,000,000 annually, and yet the diminution of production is only estimated at about five per cent. This diminution is partly due to diminished labor on the part of the men, short hours and increased pay having unhappily not resulted in all the good that was anticipated, though this cause will not account for the whole of the rise in price. That has been brought about in the main by panic, followed by combination among the dealers. In short, there are said now to be "coal rings" in the large cities, and it is feared that they will be found before long among the great coal-owners; there is already talk of Government seizure of the coal-fields as a supreme measure of public safety, and the old British grate is threatened with disappearance before the march of the dismal and repulsive but conquering stove. However, on motion of Mr. Mundella, a Committee has been appointed by the House of Commons to enquire into the whole matter.

The news from Spain is somewhat better. The reports of Carlist successes seem to have been exaggerated, and no serious opposition to the authority of the republic has yet been offered, though great disorganization plainly prevails all over the kingdom, and military officers are apparently occupied rather with keeping the army from going to pieces than with preparing it for the support of the new government. However, all delay unmarked by overwhelming disorder tells in favor of the new order of things. A bill was proposed by President Figueras last week, providing for the dissolution of the Cortes, and convoking a Constitutional Assembly, and, after reference to a committee, was favorably reported, and the Cortes agreed on Monday to take it into consideration, by a vote of 186 to 19. This is so far a triumph for the Ministry, but it has brought them face to face with the greatest difficulty of all, whether the new republic shall be federal or "one and indivisible," as the French say. The Moderates, headed by Castelar, are federalists, and with good reason, the old provincial organization of Spain being still strong and healthy. But then the fiercest republicans are Unitarians, and it is to be feared that there will be a good deal of trouble before the two parties come to terms, particularly as the Unitarians belong to a school of politicians who look on all compromise or postponement as base.

POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY.

THE melancholy spectacle of a nation robbed by its own representatives, and for their own individual profit, without any pretext of reason or right, and while the press of the country of all political shades is with singular unanimity thundering against the act, must certainly awaken enquiry in every reflecting mind as to the power which is to be held responsible for the outrage.

A single act of misgovernment which takes from the Treasury in round numbers one million six hundred and fifty thousand dollars, without the smallest consideration having been received for it, is unquestionably something about which in ordinary times we might complain; but when this large amount is voted directly and openly into the pockets of the members of Congress, one cannot help asking, What is there to prevent it from being done again, and why cannot the amount be increased tenfold? If General Washington or General Jackson had been President on the 3d of March, 1873, all the world knows that the measure would have come back to Congress with a stern message of disapproval, and that coupling it with an increase of the Presidential salary would have only rendered more certain the Presidential veto. If General Grant had done so, it would have been worth to him more than \$100,000—raising him in the opinion of his countrymen at a point where his character is supposed to lack elevation, and furnishing the sharp, incisive, surgical treatment that the nature of the case certainly required. One can easily conceive how jubilant the country would now be if these legislative Fisks and Goulds were coming home covered with the disgrace of the attempt and the ridicule of the defeat. If twenty Republicans, in either the Senate or the House, had resolutely and honestly said to the others, "This retroactive increase of your own salaries shall not pass, let the consequences to the Appropriation Bill be what they may," the measure would have been dropped. As it is, we have the practical result that a Republican House, Senate, and President have united against the unmistakable wishes of the entire country to give this iniquity the form and sanction of law.

But it is not only in the national legislature that we see the law-making power in the same manner acting as though it were utterly irresponsible to the body of society which has constituted it. The Legislatures of New York and New Jersey are now a sufficient illustration of the same thing. With the same impunity they seem able to do precisely what they should not, and to leave undone precisely that which they were elected to do. With such a state of things existing, can it be said we are governed by our own representatives; and while we allow this state of things to continue, can it be believed that we know where the proper responsibility begins or ends?

American society is now organized politically upon the principle that the majority governs. It gives the control to the majority almost absolutely, and with little regard to the representation of the minority. But, practically, society does not consist of a number of individuals going to the polls, each philosophically doing precisely what he thinks best for the welfare of the country, irrespective of all other men. On the contrary, it divides itself into two political parties—and a political party is not a mere assemblage of individuals, but a singular entity, having its history, traditions, instincts, and prejudices as well as principles and objects. Its members do not subscribe to any constitution or sign any roll, nor give any obligations or pledges, nor receive any pass-word, and yet with the larger part of them there is a sense of membership and obligation much stronger than exists in many formally constituted societies and clubs. In the earlier days of the country, political parties were held to strict accountability for the action of their agents, whether those agents were Congressmen or Presidents, legislators or governors, and this sense of accountability certainly pervaded the masses as well as the representatives. That a party could get rid of this accountability by passing resolutions, and could then re-elect the same men or others equally bad to office, would have been regarded as preposterously absurd. The standard of political morality was not

always of the highest, but there was never the extraordinary falling away from the standard which we now see wherever we choose to look. Mr. Cragin said in the Senate that this gratuity voted by Congressmen to themselves would cost the Republican party the States of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. If the statement were true, if the reprehensible conduct of the Republican party in Congress were to be followed by the immediate punishment of the loss of three Republican States, we all know that even the professional politician would find it necessary to have a conscience. The Republican Congress, in fact, proceeded to do as it chose because it felt pretty well assured that no immediate harm would befall the party. It is indeed almost ludicrous to see how solidly the representatives from those States, senators and representatives, Republicans and Democrats, went against the measure. Mr. Dawes also put himself upon record as against it, but we do not observe that he devoted to the subject any of his usual invectives against extravagance where the extravagance benefits other people than himself, or that he resorted to any of those "parliamentary tactics" which prolonged experience has placed at his command, and which have defeated a great many better measures, and might, with great certainty be it said, have defeated this one. Nevertheless, Mr. Dawes and all the other gentlemen appearing "right on the record" can go back with unblushing faces to the intelligent people of New England, and claim for themselves and their party continued confidence and support, and throw the blame on certain individuals who happened to be in Congress at the time.

The idea that we would impress upon the minds of all thoughtful and conscientious citizens is, that political power carries with it political responsibility, and that we should not grant the one without exacting the other. Thoughtful and conscientious men are, it is true, but a small part of the community, but nevertheless they hold, as between the two parties, the balance of power. There is no party yet in this country strong enough to succeed without them. During the past eight years this thinking element of the country has not been sleeping, but has been singularly held in abeyance. The great issues of the war have led thinking and conscientious men to regard Republican derelictions as of comparatively little consequence, and the extraordinary folly of the Democratic party has forced them to the conclusion again and again that it was not to be trusted. At all times the party in power has been understood to merit punishment, but at no time has it appeared as if punishment could be administered without too great a risk being run. It was impossible for such men in 1868 to allow a party to succeed which nominated General Blair immediately after and as a reward for his impudent and incendiary letter. It was also impossible for them during the last election to put any confidence in a party whose leaders could enter into such a compact as brought them to the support of Mr. Greeley. And the results of these two elections have apparently led the Republican politician to believe that he can now do anything without injuring his party, and that upon its continued flood-tides of success he will be pretty surely floated into place. With the departure of the issues of the war, and the increased audacity of the professional politician, and the frightful prevalence of public corruption, more now depends than ever before upon those who do not make politics a trade, and who can rise above prejudice or discipline to the just contemplation of the fact that a party is but the means, and the welfare of society the end, of political efforts.

GENERAL GRANT'S GOOD FORTUNE.

IN looking over the newspaper criticism which the beginning of General Grant's second term and his inaugural address have brought out, we have been more struck by its moderation of tone than by anything else. Any one who remembers the fury of last summer's campaign might be pardoned for expecting something in the way of editorial writing very different from the rather qualified expressions of approval from the Republican, and rather qualified

expressions of disapproval from the Liberal-Republican, Democratic, and Reform organs, which have appeared within the last ten days.

The picture drawn of General Grant last summer by his supporters in the press was that of the good citizen-soldier, the great-hearted patriot, the unselfish devotee of equal rights, purity, reform, and progress. He had overcome the greatest rebellion against the greatest government of the greatest country in the greatest age the world had ever seen. He had peacefully disbanded the greatest army of modern times, amid the acclamations of the most law-abiding people on the face of the earth, and had been called by an unprecedentedly unanimous shout to administer the affairs of this people for them. He had done it well. He had no policy opposed to the will of the people; he had reduced the national debt; he had lightened taxation; he had maintained order in the South. On the other hand, the portrait of him drawn by those journalists who supported the nominee of the Cincinnati Convention was something frightful. In their minds, Grant in the nineteenth century was the copy of Nero or Caligula in the days of imperial Rome—perhaps better still of Dionysius of Syracuse, with selected vices from the characters of such modern reprobates as Napoleon, Aaron Burr, Andrew Johnson, the members of the House of Stuart, and the New York Ring. Grant the centralizer was depicted as sitting, stupid with drink, in the White House at Washington, surrounded by his military staff, issuing orders enforced all over the country by the bayonets of a licentious soldiery. In each of the Southern States, and in some of the Northern, he had his satraps, who, under cover of preserving the country from domestic violence, were in reality overriding its laws, and subjugating its unhappy people. Congress, to be sure, still met, and State legislatures still enacted laws, but no law which came in conflict with his nefarious designs was any longer enforced. Not only had he an army of paid veteran soldiers at his back, but he had, by skilful manœuvres, gained over the vast body of the civil service, which was now officered and governed by his relatives and personal adherents, and which was dependent on his favor for its daily bread. In short, when the managers of the Philadelphia Convention unrolled their theatrical scene, displaying General Grant as the “man on horseback,” not a Liberal-Republican journalist in the country but felt his temples throb with shame and rage, as he thought (and wrote) how, by corruption, nepotism, and lawless tyranny, this despot had made himself master of a once free country. To be sure, the picture was rendered a little hazy by the fact that these same editors described General Grant at the same time as an utter ignoramus, an account which seemed inconsistent with what they said of his success as a scheming villain, but then consistency last summer was looked on with some suspicion and distrust.

Six months have gone by, and the scene has wonderfully changed. The despot has completed his work and riveted our chains, and the Second Washington has again, by the unanimous voice of the people, been called upon to administer its affairs; but we hear very little now of Second Washingtons or of men on horseback. There is, so far as we can judge, a very general disposition throughout the country, on the part of those who supported the Cincinnati candidate in the late campaign, to treat his Administration during the next four years, if not with that confidence which was accorded him when he first took the office, and we all thought he was going to reform politics, and put an end to the reign of the politicians, and bring in a period of statesmanship and good government, at least with a non-partisan and independent temper. On the other hand, the laudation of the Republican press is by no means of the wholesale kind of which we had so much a little while ago. The following paragraph, which we take from the *Albany Express* of the 4th instant, is very different from the “first in peace, first in war, first in the hearts of his countrymen” sort of criticism of the campaign:

“Gen. Grant was not our first choice for President—that all our readers know; but we know him to be a plain, unostentatious, well-meaning citizen, a faithful soldier, and, as we believe, an honest man. Many a worse and many a feebler man has taken the official oath before the Chief-Justice on

the 4th day of March in years gone by. We have faith in President Grant. He means well. He has learned much during his first Presidential term. He may be obstinate—he may have some crude notions of his own—but we think he is honest through and through, and that he will endeavor to give to the country a wise, pacific, and successful administration.”

Our own opinion of General Grant our readers do not need to be told. He has been peculiarly unfortunate in being placed at the head of an Administration which has served as a bridge over the chasm dividing the old from the new in American politics—dividing the period which found its crisis in a civil war from the period of discussion, of reconstruction, of reorganization in which we find ourselves. He has been unfortunate, too, in having been selected for this work at a time when the Executive had by force of circumstances and accident been reduced to the position of a secondary force in the Government, the Administration having come to be regarded rather as the agent of the party for the time being, than one of the three theoretical co-ordinate powers. If General Grant had been, as so many persons thought he was five years ago, a political genius, he would probably have succeeded by this time by slow degrees in elevating himself to the position of a leader in that reform movement in which we have always been told he feels such a deep interest, but which in reality he does not understand.

Nevertheless, it must be confessed that, speaking after the manner of men, the career of General Grant has been wonderfully lucky. When we remember that twelve years ago he was an utterly unknown man, and that for those twelve years (beginning with the victories at Fort Henry and Fort Donelson) he has been on the whole the most constantly conspicuous and successful man in public life in the world, having triumphed over his enemies in the field, and signally defeated his enemies in contests quite as difficult and intricate as any to which war can give rise, having accomplished everything he has seriously undertaken (for even the San Domingo scheme has ended in a way which must be peculiarly gratifying to him), and having maintained throughout his career a position of dignity and reserve which inspires even his bitterest enemies in their saner moments with respect, certainly we cannot help feeling that unpartisan pleasure which the rapid and melodramatic rise of any member of the human race to power and position always excites in his fellows. It may be, and we hope it will be, that four years hence we may have something better than General Grant; but meantime a little non-moral pleasure may be taken, even by Reformers, in the unexampled success of a man who is after all one of our own family, and whose success, though hardly the success of Reform, is certainly success of no ordinary kind.

General Grant, in fact, stands to-day in the eyes of France, England, Russia, and Germany as the head of a large and powerful people, chosen in the teeth of charges of the gravest character, affecting not only his political but his personal reputation, by a nearly unanimous vote. Besides this, he comes for a second time into office, after an unusually bitter campaign, which has worn out and disgusted the whole country, during which he has maintained a dignified and unbroken silence. He has had the good fortune—the unusual good fortune—to see the very men who were originally most opposed to him forced to his support by their own mistakes; and he comes into office for the second and last time confident that he has seen the worst of the conflict, and that however during the next four years he may offend the public, he at least will obtain at the end of his term that retirement and freedom from responsibility for which, as he quite pathetically says in his inaugural address, he so much longs.

THE FOSTER CASE.

WE have said nothing about the Foster case hitherto, because we did not know in what position it stood, or what Governor Dix had done or proposed to do about it. What, at this writing, he is asked to do, but we hope and believe he will not do, is to commute the sentence to one of imprisonment for life; and the point in the affair to which we think the public attention ought to be especially directed is the fact that this result,

if reached, will have been reached through a process which amounts substantially to a retrial of the case, before a new tribunal which acts not simply on legal considerations, but on considerations of all kinds. Foster, late one night, while riding on the front platform of a Broadway car, behaved in a very insulting manner to a lady passenger, by keeping the door open and staring her out of countenance. Her escort, Mr. Putnam, remonstrated two or three times, with vehemence, and was then told by Foster that "he would ride as far as he did," and "give him hell" when he got out. He accordingly did ride in silence and apparently in waiting, for sixteen blocks, or three-quarters of a mile, and on Mr. Putnam's assisting the lady to alight, seized the car-hook and struck him with it on the back of the head with such violence as to fracture his skull and kill him. The prisoner was duly tried and found guilty of murder in the first degree, but was recommended to mercy by the jury. His case was carried to the Court of Appeals upon the usual profligate bill of exceptions, and all the points made in his favor, especially the objections to the Judge's charge, were solemnly reviewed by that tribunal and decided against him. An application was then made to the Governor to commute his sentence, and, should the Governor comply, the criminal will, owing to the peculiar way in which the petition is supported, have to all intents and purposes the benefit of a new trial, and this before a tribunal unknown to the Constitution and the laws.

The Governor, it would appear, inclines to the opinion that Foster ought to be hanged, so he is asked practically to relegate the matter to the judgment of a body of persons made up in this way: the widow of the murdered man; eleven of the persons who formed the jury in the trial, but each separately in his own home; a man named Hoffmann, who knew one of the jurors, now deceased, and had a talk with him before his death; William M. Evarts, a leading lawyer, practising at the bar; a judge of the Court of Appeals; a late Commissioner of the Court of Appeals; three lawyers in active commercial practice at the bar; a judge of the Supreme Court; an ex-District-Attorney and divers other lawyers; thirty men in various callings who knew the prisoner for various periods; a clergyman who "knew him familiarly from his childhood"; the prisoner's family physician; the clergyman whose church the prisoner's family attend; a gentleman who knew him "since he was a boy"; another who was a playmate of the prisoner when a boy; a man who was once Sheriff of this city; the president of a bank; ditto of a savings-bank; the publisher of a weekly paper; the wardens and other officers of the City Prison; a surgeon who thought Putnam might have recovered if he had received more prompt attention, and a surgeon who first saw him after the blow. We ought to add that this is only a portion of the court, but it is the principal portion. Not one of these persons, except those who served on the jury, professes to have been present at the trial or to have heard the evidence. They are all satisfied, however, that the prisoner is only guilty of murder in the second degree, and some think only of manslaughter. Most of them reach this conclusion through their knowledge of Foster's previous character, which was "mild and inoffensive." In fact, all of them, except one, represent him as a very estimable young man, almost as unlikely to commit murder in the first degree as Dr. William Adams or Mr. Peter Cooper. A few confess that he *might* have killed a man, but not with premeditation. Some curious light is thrown on their deliverances, however, and especially on those of the clergymen, by the admission made by Mr. Godfrey Gunther of the fact, which was well known after the crime was committed, but which the public has now forgotten or the friends of the prisoner are trying to cover up, that Foster was "wild, reckless, and independent," or, in other words, a dissipated man, who followed no regular occupation, and who, sooner than ask assistance from his father, got a place as conductor on a street-car. This fact is of considerable importance in two ways. In the first place, it shows how disingenuous is the surprise expressed by the ministers that Foster should have been out at night and quarrel-

some; in the second, it shows that the car-hook was to him a familiar weapon, and not something snatched up in a hot impulse. *Moreover, it was shown in evidence that he went out and ascertained that the hook was there before Mr. Putnam prepared to leave the car.* The passage in Dr. Tyng's letter on this point is very discreditable. The plain truth is that Foster's antecedents were such as to render this close to his career not improbable.

Now, if it is proper for the Governor, on the verdict of a body thus composed, to set aside the result of a trial in the Supreme Court as of no value, these among other questions will, we hope, present themselves to everybody's mind: What is the use of trying murderers in the Supreme Court at all? The rule of law which requires the judge, jury, witnesses, and counsel to conduct the investigation in public, and in the presence of each other, is plainly of no value if the case can be sifted, and even the degree of the prisoner's guilt fixed, just as well by an indeterminate body of persons out of doors who have never heard the evidence, or the arguments, or the charge. What, too, is the use of keeping the jury together from day to day, and obliging them to act under the instruction of the Court, if they can revise or explain away their verdict two years or any time afterwards in their own homes, orally or by letter, and if even a dead juror can have his explanation sent in by a surviving friend? What is the use of the judge who tries the case, and of the Court of last resort which passes on his rulings, if both can be effectively revised by volunteer lawyers not charged with judicial functions at all, or acting under none of the ordinary guarantees of judicial fairness and independence? If, for instance, Governor Dix must not mind what Judge Brady said, but ought to mind what Mr. Evarts or ex-Commissioner Leonard says, what is the use of Judge Brady?

What, also, let us ask, is the use of rules of procedure, if the opinions submitted to Governor Dix justify him in changing a case of murder in the first degree to one of murder in the second degree? The same warrant would also justify him in making it manslaughter in the first, second, or fourth degree, and commuting the punishment of death to one month's imprisonment. If a promiscuous crowd of persons outside can change the effect of a verdict at all, they can change it indefinitely. Moreover, the rules of evidence under which cases of murder are tried are very stringent. The things which either prosecutor or prisoner is allowed to prove or disprove are very carefully marked out, either by statute or precedent, with the view of guarding the minds of the jury from every influence likely to divert their attention from certain points declared by law to be the only points in the controversy. No prisoner, for instance, would be allowed to produce his mother or wife, and cause her to make an impassioned appeal to the jurymen, because this would be an admission that a man's legal responsibility depended not on the possession of the power of distinguishing between right and wrong, but on his capacity or that of his friends for moving the feelings of his judges. The law holds, or has held hitherto, that a man with a wife and "four interesting children" is as much bound to refrain from theft or homicide as a bachelor or a widower. But what is the use of these rules if the prisoner's case can at any time before sentence be submitted to a crowd, and his fate be decided by every conceivable consideration—his early piety, the character of his family, the feelings of his old playmates, the thinness of his victim's skull, and so on? If these are valid considerations for Governor Dix now, ought they not to have been brought forward in court; and, if they affect now his action, is not this the real trial which is now going on in the newspapers, and was not that which took place two years ago in the Oyer and Terminer a ghastly farce?

But we shall be asked, Ought not the Governor to pay heed to the jury's recommendation to mercy? That depends; a recommendation of this sort is an appeal to executive discretion, and this discretion ought to be exercised with due regard to the public welfare as well as to the facts of the case. The practice of making these recommendations took its rise under a state of things which has no parallel here. It arose when murder was not classified as it is

with us, and when a recommendation to mercy was therefore the only mode of marking the jury's estimate of the degree of the prisoner's guilt. A recommendation to mercy attached by a New York jury to a verdict of murder in the first degree, with the view of procuring the punishment of the second degree only, is an absurdity which no governor ought to heed. It is like the verdict of "not guilty—but don't do it again." His answer to it is simple enough. "If you meant murder in the second degree, you ought to have said so. If what you seek by your recommendation be, as I suspect, to make me the instrument of satisfying the scruples of some of you as to capital punishment for wilful murder, you must look elsewhere. I shall not play any part in a subterfuge of this kind; as long as the law stands as it does at present, I shall carry it out." There is one other reason, and not less strong, why these recommendations do not deserve as much attention as some people think, and that is, that the "mercy" they were originally aimed at is unknown in the United States. A governor's "mercy" is not the king's "mercy" of the common law. The king's mercy was pure prerogative—that is, it was grace flowing from the royal breast as from a fountain, which the sovereign was not bound to justify or give reasons for, and which he might exercise without the slightest reference to the public welfare. To this a jury might appeal in pure compassion or caprice; but Governor Dix possesses no such faculty or endowment. He is the minister of the law and the creature of the law, and if he commutes he is bound to give the reason why; and that reason should either be that the public safety does not need the example, which is, unhappily, not true in the present case, or that, though the murder was wilful, there was behind it strong provocation, which, unhappily, is also not true in the present case.

As regards the stress laid by Foster's friends on the requirement of the law that "the killing shall be done with intent to murder," it is proper to say that there are only two ways of getting at a man's intentions—through his declarations and through his actions. We presume our Sentimentalists have not yet got quite so far on their road as to ask us to accept as proof a man's own account of his motives in committing a homicide. If Foster's threats, his silent waiting, and his subsequent use of an iron bar, with the existence and power of which his calling had made him familiar, to strike his victim on the head stealthily, do not furnish proof of intent to kill, then such intent can rarely be proved, and the great majority of homicides committed in this city will escape with slight punishments. Mr. Evarts's extraordinary bit of technicality about the exclusion of the car-hook from the class of "deadly weapons," if accepted by courts and juries, will simply make it necessary to use a cart-rung, an iron pot, a stone pitcher, or a pickaxe, or any *unusual* weapon, in the work of slaughter, to reduce all homicides to the second degree. The young fellow who was hung the other day in Brooklyn for running out of a tavern and beating a policeman's brains out in drunken frolic with sticks and stones, had no such pleas produced on his behalf.

Finally, we would warn the Governor that Foster's "drunkenness" was a condition in which a very large proportion of the roughs of this city pass their evenings all the year round—that is, a condition in which just drink enough has been taken to excite their quarrelsomeness, diminish their caution, and inflame their lust, but not enough to weaken their wills or diminish their muscular power. In this condition they rove about the city from one place of entertainment to another, breathing out threatenings and slaughter. If the Governor of this State shall, in the Foster case, make public proclamation that he considers a man's deliberate entrance into this condition sufficient to secure him even partial release from legal and moral responsibility, then we say deliberately that a great blow will have been struck, not simply at individual security against violence, but at the very foundations of public order. We still have confidence that he will not do this thing, that he at least has preserved intact the healthy moral and mental perceptions of a better time, when thieves ran away from the police, and when murderers did not seek refuge in jail, when the bench was a terror to evil-doers, and

when there were limits to what an advocate would do to save a scoundrel from his deserts.

THE LOUISIANA DEBATE IN THE SENATE.

WASHINGTON, March 8.

ON the whole, this Crédit Mobilier business has left a very depressed feeling behind it among the sagacious men of the Republican party. As one of them said to me: Whether the party can survive what has happened already, I do not know; but I am sure it cannot survive another such thing. And I fear there are worse things in store for us." It is not only the rottenness of the concern which has thus become apparent, but it is the utter inability of the party to deal with such matters. The Crédit Mobilier Committee of the Senate, presided over by Mr. Morrill of Maine, has indeed surprised everybody here by doing its duty. But nobody believes that a resolution to expel Mr. Patterson can pass the Senate, and it would seem almost absurd that it should when a report whitewashing such a character as Senator Clayton, of Arkansas, is at the same time presented to the Senate. Everybody feels that things are entirely out of joint, and that something new must come. And as the average politician in and out of Congress lives and moves and has his being only in his party, he looks into the future with a sort of distressed stare, and in the meantime staggers to and fro as a gust of wind from this or that side may strike him.

Another symptom of impending dissolution appeared in the Senate when the Louisiana case was up. The majority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections under Mr. Carpenter's lead had reported in favor of ordering a new election in Louisiana under the direction of the Federal authorities. While the report was illogical in its conclusions—for it admitted that the McEnery government is the government *de jure* in that State, which would preclude a new election under Federal authority as a new act of usurpation—it was at the same time remarkably fair and candid in its statements of fact. It denounced Judge Durell's interference as gross usurpation, as utterly subversive of all constitutional principles, and the Kellogg government as a palpable fraud, without a shadow of legal existence. Mr. Morton dissented from the majority, and insisted upon the recognition of the Kellogg government, fraud or no fraud, usurpation or no usurpation. Mr. Trumbull, according to the logic and the law of the case, advocated the recognition of the government headed by McEnery. The President sent a message to Congress inviting action in the case, and declaring at the same time that he would continue to sustain Kellogg unless otherwise instructed by Congress—one of those demonstrations of blind obstinacy so characteristic of this Administration. This message and the threatening news from Louisiana induced Mr. Carpenter to insist upon the immediate consideration of his report and bill. He made a very brilliant speech in its defence, attacking the Durell usurpation and the Kellogg fraud, and thundering at Mr. Morton and that class of extreme partisans led by him in so effective a style as to create the impression that some good might possibly still come from Mr. Carpenter. The debate lasted a whole day and night, and when finally a vote was reached, Mr. Carpenter, in the face of his brilliant invectives, voted for an amendment introduced by his colleague, Mr. Howe, by which the same Kellogg government which he had denounced as a fraud and usurpation with such indignant eloquence was virtually recognized. This tergiversation decided the fate of the bill. The amendment was adopted by Mr. Carpenter's vote, and the bill lost the votes of those who would not under any circumstances recognize the Kellogg government, and failed.

This debate revealed several interesting things. There had been an impression that Mr. Morton was a little inclining to the Liberal side. On this occasion he marched out again under his old colors as the advocate of the extremist and most reckless partisan measures, and the champion of the Administration through thick and thin, and Mr. Schurz saluted him as such in the opening of his speech. Mr. Morton's status may now be considered as fixed for an indefinite time. Mr. Conkling displayed himself on the same side, and he may with safety be classed in the same category. Mr. Carpenter has sometimes good impulses, and occasionally obeys them; but his intellectual vagaries are such that many people doubt whether he has any convictions; if he has, he certainly does not stick to them. He has shown himself capable of making a brilliant speech, then voting against his own argument, and having a good laugh over it. Mr. Edmunds distinguished himself in the Louisiana debate by an earnest, fearless, and very able speech in support of the theory that, McEnery having, in point of form, been legally elected, he was *prima facie* entitled to recognition by the Federal Government under the Constitution. It is rumored that the party managers are very much dissatisfied with him, that they begin to distrust him, and are going to watch him. If Mr. Edmunds is equally distrustful of them, and vigilant in watching them, he may

render very valuable service to his country, and it is to be hoped that he will. We may now consider it as certain that Messrs. Morton and Conkling, supported by Cameron, Chandler, and Frelinghuysen, will wield the party whip in the Senate, and that Messrs. Edmunds, Carpenter, and Logan will occasionally refuse to obey orders. The party whip was cracked by Morton and Conkling for the first time this session in the Louisiana case. They carried their point, in having the matter laid upon the table, by a single vote; but I am informed they would certainly have failed had the Senate not been overwhelmed by the press of business to be disposed of before the 4th of March. The Louisiana case will have to be taken up again by the Senate immediately after the 4th of March, in deciding the contest of the Kellogg and McEnery candidates for seats in the Senate, and we may expect to hear more from Messrs. Edmunds and Carpenter.

In the House, Mr. Butler will attempt to take the reins. His old competitors have been so seriously damaged by the *Crédit Mobilier* investigation that a man who is not embarrassed by any sort of delicacy will have a great advantage over them. If he should succeed in defeating Mr. Blaine for the Speakership, the latter will be essentially weakened; and, if Mr. Blaine is elected, Mr. Butler may still expect to rule on the floor, especially as there will be an unusually large number of new members in the next House, who, unaccustomed to Butler's thunders, will look up to the terrible Benjamin with awe and fear. Thus it is by no means improbable that Butler will be the standard-bearer of the Republican party in the House during the next Congress, which, looking at the party in the light of recent events, is not altogether in conflict with the eternal fitness of things. Is it not equally characteristic that to-morrow Wilson will take the chair in the Senate just vacated by Colfax, and that he will proceed to swear in for a new term Morton, Cameron, and Conkling, and, as new senatorial ornaments of the Republican party, Patterson from South Carolina, Conover from Florida, and Jones from Nevada? And is it not also a sign of the times, that about half-a-dozen Federal judges are ripe for impeachment, one of whom has been taken in hand already?

ENGLAND.—THE SCHEME FOR A NEW IRISH UNIVERSITY.

LONDON, Feb. 21, 1873.

THE Parliamentary campaign has begun in earnest, and Mr. Gladstone's strategy has once more won general admiration. I do not mean to say, indeed, that the scheme for Irish education satisfies everybody, or even that it satisfies anybody; but nobody can deny the extreme cleverness with which it is adapted to the exigencies of the situation. Whether the bill will provide anything like a final solution of the question may be exceedingly doubtful; but few people can doubt that it will pass, and pass triumphantly. The impression which it made has indeed been decidedly modified. The day after Mr. Gladstone's exposition of his scheme, I happened to meet one of the most extreme Radical members of the House. He was in ecstasies. Gladstone, he said, has given us all that we could wish. Substantially, his scheme is nothing more than an expansion of Fawcett's plan for throwing open Trinity College. The government of the new university will be practically in the hands of Trinity men, who will be the best qualified competitors for its examinations; and, meanwhile, we shall have given to the Catholics all that they can fairly demand by enabling them to obtain degrees, and compete for a fair share of endowments. The satisfaction expressed by my friend was chiefly due to the fact that the Radicals had dreaded some direct concession to the Roman Catholic priesthood, in pursuance of a tacit bargain with Cardinal Cullen. The bill bore no marks of any such arrangement upon its face, and the Radicals were proportionably delighted. A few days' reflection made a considerable change in their tone. Another Radical friend, whom I encountered soon afterwards, gave me the opposite view of the question. Substantially, he said, the bill is a concession to the Catholics of all that they ask—or will, at least, pave the way for such a concession. The government of the new body will practically be in their hands. Protestants will naturally go as of old to Trinity College, and the new university will be left for the Catholics. After a short time they will form a majority of the governing body; they will then come to Parliament with a new grievance, and ask to remove the restrictions which are designed to give it an unsectarian character; and then it will appear that we have, in fact, been merely taking the first step towards a direct endowment of a Catholic university. This last opinion seems to be gaining ground amongst the Radicals; but, though objecting to the scheme more decidedly than at first, they have little hopes of seriously impeding its progress. Even if it be a concession to the Catholic demands, it is perhaps such a concession as we are bound in fairness to make. Ireland is after all a Catholic country; and it is a difficult problem to be thoroughly tolerant and, at the same time, to make no concessions to the religion of the great majority. The scheme,

too, is so skilfully contrived to give something, in appearance, to every party, that any united and successful opposition seems to be out of the question. The Catholics will complain noisily of the injustice, if only that they may be entitled to ask for greater concessions in future; but they will take good care not to endanger a measure which will put them in a better position for demanding concessions. The Radicals may grumble; but the proposal to found a secular university is, superficially at any rate, too much in accordance with their views to allow of any effectual opposition. And thus, although the bill may be considerably modified in its passage through Parliament, there is every reason to suppose that it will be passed without vital injury, if not in its present form.

One provision has been universally condemned, and, as matters stand at present, seems to be the most likely to provoke a lively discussion. The new university will, of course, have no theological faculty; and in order to keep dangerous topics at the greatest possible distance, it is also to give no instruction in philosophy or in modern history. The examinations, also, are to be so arranged as to give no advantage to the members of either of the hostile creeds. The expedient of thus maiming a university in order to keep it out of mischief is certainly a melancholy offering to religious prejudice. How far it can succeed in securing that object is a question which I cannot answer. Mathematical teaching, I believe, is neither Protestant nor Catholic, now that the earth is allowed by all parties to go around the sun. But, as soon as we venture beyond that comparatively safe region, there is abundant room for anybody who likes it to introduce heretical opinions under the cover of science. Prof. Huxley, I imagine, could succeed in making some remarks which would be very disagreeable to the Pope, whilst confining himself strictly to physiology; and ancient history, which is arbitrarily cut off from modern, affords the most ample opportunities for preaching republicanism, socialism, atheism, or any other kind of "ism" that may be most offensive to the orthodox. There are provisions, indeed, to prevent the professors from insulting the prejudices of any one; but doctrines dexterously or even unconsciously insinuated are quite as effective as doctrines ostentatiously avowed; and if the professors of the future university really desire to introduce some infectious poison, I imagine that they could carry out their diabolical designs without much expense of ingenuity. In short, the poor university is to be in fetters from the day of its birth, and thus may be expected to become intolerable. If passions are so keen as to render such precautions necessary, they are probably keen enough to render them ineffectual. Such, at least, are the reasons which lead many people to distrust the working of Mr. Gladstone's policy, whilst admitting the admirable dexterity with which he has met the conflicting demands of the hostile parties. Indeed, it would be difficult to speak too highly of his abilities in that respect. Whenever his adversaries suppose that he is driven into a corner, he extricates himself with surprising ingenuity, and absolutely revels in devising and expounding the most complex schemes for satisfying everybody. His opponents, of course, maintain that he does not effect a final conciliation, but only adjourns the inevitable conflict; that these elaborate schemes involve arrangements too intricate to be really stable; and that the most laborious efforts to frame an eclectic policy will result in our having ultimately to take one side or the other. The scheme for English primary education was welcomed with equal enthusiasm at first, and was to reconcile everybody. Its practical results have been the expenditure of large sums of money, the education of a very small additional number of children, and an increased bitterness between the rival sects which struggle for the command of the schools. Indeed, the battle between secular and religious systems of education which is raging over Europe generally, as well as in this country, corresponds to passions far too bitter and profound to be set at rest by any judicious compromises; and one can hardly doubt that we are at the beginning, rather than at the end, of a campaign which will last for a period beyond our powers of calculation. This, however, does not prove that Mr. Gladstone has not introduced the best measure which has any chance of being carried at the present moment. We must be content to move forward very slowly on a path beset by so many obstacles, and perhaps a series of judicious compromises may be the best mode of advancing; though we cannot but wish that we had simpler issues to meet, and could meet them more courageously. Meanwhile, as far as this session is concerned, the indications are that Mr. Gladstone will disappoint the predictions of those who expected him to break down under this last trial, and will add one more victory to those already won during his period of office.

Another great measure was introduced in the House of Lords on the same night. Lord Selborne is evidently anxious to justify the expectations of those who see in him the reforming chancellor, so long desired and so slow in appearing. I speak with fear and trembling of anything connected with law-reform, knowing only this, that I know nothing of legal mysteries, and am only too likely to talk sheer nonsense if I attempt to express any opinion

upon the subject. This much, however, I may venture to assert, that Lord Selborne's speech pointed to a scheme of much greater boldness than has hitherto been proposed for the consolidation of our courts of justice, and the fusion of law and equity. The bill is not yet published, and any discussion, even were I capable of discussing the matter satisfactorily, would be premature. Looking at the matter from a purely political point of view, I have merely to say that these two bills are to provide Parliament with its chief occupation during the coming months; and neither of them is likely to lead to any very bitter party struggles. There is, indeed, no want of topics for the benefit of ambitious orators. Two or three little skirmishes have already taken place, in which Mr. Vernon Harcourt has been the most conspicuous figure. A rather amusing scene took place in the discussion of Mr. Ayrton's delinquencies. I have already had occasion to speak of the strange series of bungling attempts at regulating the right of public meeting in the parks. Mr. Ayrton, who appeared to be the chief culprit, has succeeded in attracting so much dislike for various reasons that he is probably the most unpopular man in the House. Everybody was therefore very willing to see an effective assault made upon him, and Mr. Harcourt, who has a fine capacity for treading upon the toes of his neighbors, and who has lately put himself forward as a conspicuous advocate of the rights of man and the liberties of the British subject, had a very fair opportunity of carrying the House with him in treating Mr. Ayrton to a little insolent invective. Unfortunately, Mr. Harcourt is with a very large number of members scarcely more popular than Mr. Ayrton, and consequently the House cared comparatively little which got the worst of it. Their slaughter was so earnestly desired, that whether Harcourt trampled on Ayrton, or Ayrton administered severe punishment to Harcourt, the result would be equally gratifying. Accordingly, when Harcourt failed to do as much execution as had been expected, the House was disgusted, and when Mr. Ayrton replied by some effective sarcasm, it was thoroughly delighted. The House of Commons looked on as brutal spectators look at a prize-fight, with a sincere desire that there might be plenty of blood and bruises, but with a fine indifference as to who might be the victim. Mr. Harcourt, however, is indomitable. He had the worst of the round with Mr. Ayrton, and a short time before he had received a severe punishment from Mr. Lowe; but within a day or two he was again delivering a lecture of an hour and a half upon the necessity of economy in the public expenditure. He said one or two good things, as for example that our present system is to spend enormous sums to prepare ourselves to fight, and then to spend large sums to buy people off from fighting us; but, on the whole, the lecture was dreary, and was received with signal coldness. In fact, the assertion of such general propositions is not calculated to excite very lively enthusiasm. From all which, it might appear that Mr. Harcourt has not made a very successful opening of the session. And yet he is a man who is likely to succeed by sheer force of cleverness and self-assertion. He has an imposing presence and plenty of ability, though his manner is pompous and his oratory apt to rise into the regions of platitudes. Though he takes the line of extreme radicalism, nobody imagines that his radicalism lies very deep, or that he would be one of the irreconcilables in case his ambition clearly pointed in the opposite direction. He is not much more popular than Mr. Ayrton, but he has the faculty of pushing his way and keeping himself before the public. Whether by speeches on the hustings or by letters on international law to the *Times*, he somehow succeeds in making his voice heard, and I fancy that is the first condition of rising. Under favorable conditions, he might make a career after the pattern of Mr. Disraeli; but he is likely at any rate to fill a considerable space in the parliamentary future, and to force his way over the heads of equally able and honest men who are hampered by the foolish vice of modesty.

Correspondence.

NOT MINATORY BUT MONITORY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The letter from me which appears in the *Nation* of this week was written, as you were informed by Messrs. Sheldon & Company, at their suggestion and request, and referred to what may be called a purely business matter. Will you allow me to say a word for myself, although at the risk of taxing your patience and that of your readers?

My mention of the fact that I had revised but not corrected the passage expressing my respect for the tone and aim of the *Nation* was not meant to be in the least "minatory." Its purpose was merely to bring to mind that, notwithstanding the many provocations to small wrath which had been given me, I had not thought even of such a retaliation as the mere omission

of that paragraph, much less of making a change in its terms. If, indeed, the *Nation* had taken a course that is too common, and refused or stinted the reparation due to my publishers, then my "yet" might have foreshadowed a change in opinion which your course shows that you would regard as justified; but of that significance you have entirely voided it by the fulness and frankness of your amend. If journalists did but know how much they gain, instead of losing, in strength as well as in respectability by a frank acknowledgment of error!

But what I wished to say for myself is this. You have twice referred to the eleventh chapter of 'Words and their Uses' (on the form "is being done") in terms which imply that I have been regardless of what you call "the frequent exposures of its fallacy," and that I remain stolidly indifferent to the fact that it has been "exploded." If that were the case, I should be quite unworthy of any literary confidence. I have read, I believe, every word that has been written against that chapter. In particular, I have twice gone attentively through Dr. Hall's article, which I believe is regarded as the ablest that has appeared on the opposite side of the question; and I did so with the purpose, I might almost say the hope, of finding occasion for the modification of my judgment. I found, on the contrary, not a single point brought up which I had not carefully considered before, as could be shown if the chapter and the article were printed side by side. Dr. Hall reaches one conclusion, I another. I venture to say that this is possible without my being arrogant or unwise. It is not the first case in the annals of literature in which arguments thought to be overwhelming by those on whose side they were used were regarded as not at all so by those against whom they were directed. Let abler and more learned men than I decide this question—say, for instance, George P. Marsh. Mr. Marsh has denounced the phrase in question as "the clumsy and unidiomatic continuing present of the passive voice," which originated "not in the common-sense of the people, but in the brain of some grammatical pretender"; and he gives six pages to its condemnation. Now, I agree that if Mr. Marsh will say of my eleventh chapter that, in his opinion, Dr. Hall, or any one else, has exposed its fallacy, or has exploded it, I will not only revise and correct it, but improve it off the face of my book.

Apocryph of this view of the case, there is a good passage in the "Essay on Criticism":

"Tis with our judgments as our watches, none
Go just alike, yet each believes his own."

The *Nation*, with calmness and catholicity of tone, seems to remember this on some subjects, but to forget it on others.

Your obedient servant,

R. G. W.

NEW YORK, March 8, 1873.

THE DANGERS OF RESUMPTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Will you permit a few remarks in reply to your article of February 27th, entitled "Public Opinion and the Currency"? Without differing from you in the least as regards the importance of a return to specie payments, I still think you do not attach sufficient importance to the objections so often brought forward against the measure, more particularly by the Western people. Your simile about the plunge into cold water is only so far correct as it relates to a perfectly healthy man, for certainly no one would recommend such a proceeding to a sufferer from smallpox, scarlet fever, or any other disease. I would argue, therefore, that a return or even an approach towards specie payments may be made the cause of far more suffering to the people at large, if attempted when the finances of the country are not in a healthy condition, than a depreciated and fluctuating currency can possibly be.

In preparing to take such a step, the first and most important question to be asked is: What will be the effect upon the business community? Now, every one will admit that a decline of fifteen per cent. on the value of all merchandise, which is after all the meaning of a return to specie payments, is a very serious matter for merchants to contemplate; but this is not all they would have to bear, for, unless the condition of trade happened to be in a peculiarly fortunate state, the mere prospect of declining markets would be sufficient to so reduce the demands of consumers that a stagnation in business, culminating in a financial panic, would be the inevitable result.

Since the close of the war the mercantile community have been passing through a very severe ordeal. As if the ordinary business risks were not sufficient, they have had to contend against all the evils of a fluctuating currency, against the most reckless proceedings on the part of Congress with regard to the tariff, and against singularly bad management of the Treasury Department. That these have not been without their effect, I think no one familiar with the workings of commerce will for a moment deny, and

that the merchants as a whole are in a more precarious condition to-day than they have been at any time during the past ten years, is a fact which most business men are forced to acknowledge.

Hence it seems to me that if the question of specie payments resolves itself into a contraction of the currency and a sudden decline in gold, then the present time would be a most unfortunate one to choose in which to make the experiment.

But is there no way of attaining the desired object without all this attendant chaos? Cannot the country be put upon a specie basis even without resumption on the part of the Government? I think it can, and that without legislation of any kind. What would be needed to put the plan into active operation would be united action on the part of merchants and the banks to encourage the buying and selling of merchandise for gold instead of currency. If what is now done in this city on a small scale could be gradually extended all over the land, there can be no doubt that specie payments would not, as now, be a constant terror to the people, but could be discussed with the calm deliberation so important a subject requires. Once succeed in getting merchants to transact their business on a specie basis—for it is, after all, not necessary that the specie should be actually handled—and I believe opposition to resumption by the Government will speedily vanish. Gold being then the *par* and greenbacks at a discount, it will become the interest of the very men who are now most outspoken against specie payments to encourage any measures that will tend to enhance the value of the paper money.—Respectfully yours,

MERCHANT.

MARCH 3, 1873.

Notes.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO. will reprint 'Walks in Florence,' by the Misses Horner; and have also in press 'Our New Masters,' by Thomas Wright; 'Political Portraits,' by an "Eminent Journalist," who may possibly be Mr. John W. Forney; and a novel, 'Her Majesty the Queen,' by John Esten Cooke.—Porter & Coates announce 'The American's Hand-book to Vienna and the Exhibition,' by C. W. De Bernardy, illustrated, in two styles; and 'Men of the Third Republic,' sketches supposed, say the publishers, to have been written by a prominent English statesman.—'The Best of All Good Company,' in four parts, telling of a day with Dickens, Scott, Thackeray, and Jerrold, will be published by Shepard & Gill, Boston.—Martin's 'Statesman's Year-Book' for 1873 (New York: Macmillan) adheres closely in plan and substance to the editions of former years, while showing in all its parts that it has been more or less worked over and brought up to date. Thus, under the United States the new Congressional apportionment and various revenue changes are inserted. Under Europe, the recent censuses of Germany and France are given, the latter showing a falling off in population since 1866 amounting to 1,964,273, of which, however, 1,597,219 stand for Alsace-Lorraine. The first Indian census ever taken is also given, and there are several other new features.—The New York Hungarian Society commemorates "the day of Pesth" (March 15, 1848) by a festival and ball at Irving Hall on Friday, the 14th instant.—A writer in the Boston *Transcript* enquires after the true orthography of the name of the author of 'Smoke,' 'Liza,' 'On the Eve,' etc. The variations—Tougenieff, Turgénieff, Turgeneff, Turgenev, Toorgenev, Turgenew—are due to the various attempts in different languages to copy the sounds of the Russian original. Another distinguished member of the family (the late Nicholas T.), having made himself a Frenchman by residence, used to write his name Tourgueneff, as may be seen at the end of a communication from him on p. 237, of Vol. I. of the *Nation*. Giving the Italian value to the vowels, this would be more simply written as Turgenev. There being no ambiguity, in English, in the pronunciation of the final syllable (ef), the doubling of the final *f* is not necessary (as it is in Gortchakoff, for example), but of course is not wrong.

—Mr. Sabin, biblioplist, and of very high authority in such matters, says that too much has been said in the newspapers about the loss inflicted by the fire in the late Mr. Forrest's library. He remarks concerning Mr. Forrest's copy of the "first folio" Shakespeare, that by no means was it worth \$5,000, the price set upon it by the reporters. Mr. Forrest bought it from him thirteen years ago for \$375, and its value now cannot be more than \$500, if so much. It was a "made-up" copy—that is to say, its title-page and last leaf were printed in facsimile, the originals of those pages having been wanting. We suppose Mr. Sabin's doubts about the damage done by the fire may be somewhat overstrained. He observes that books do not burn easily, and that it is "somewhat remarkable that \$20,000 worth of books should be destroyed by a fire which was put out by 'a fireman and a policeman.'" But a Phila-

delphia correspondent of the *Athenæum*, who himself examined the library after it was burned, corroborates the newspapers as to the thoroughness with which the fire did its work, though he makes no estimate in money of the loss sustained. He however leaves the reader inclined to believe that the loss in Shakespeariana was in no sense irreparable, though, of course, much to be regretted.

—Mr. William F. Poole's essay on 'Anti-Slavery Opinions before the Year 1800,' has been converted into a handsome book by Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, enriched by copious notes and addenda, and a fac-simile reprint of Dr. George Buchanan's anti-slavery oration of 1791, of which a copy, it will be remembered, was preserved in Washington's library and led to Mr. Poole's researches. In its present form this essay gives perhaps not a complete, but certainly a just view of the state of public opinion on the subject of slavery at the close of the last century, especially at the South, among men prominent in laying the foundations of the Federal Government. It establishes beyond question the fact that before the glittering generalities of the Declaration and the Constitution had lost their glitter, it was possible to speak, write, and organize at the South in opposition to slavery; but it does not show a single Southern name that ranks with Franklin, Rush, Jay, or Hamilton—to mention no other officers of Northern anti-slavery societies—associated voluntarily or on request with an organization which seriously contemplated emancipation. This was already forbidden by the very conditions of society in the planting slave States of that day; and while the humane and even fervid expressions of Washington, Jefferson, Henry, and Mason could be tolerated—"all Europe" still having its eyes on the glittering generalities—a practical alliance with downright abolitionists would have been regarded and treated as treachery to their order. However, the planter's endurance of incendiary speech and doctrine still remains something wonderful, and Mr. Poole uses it to give the South its due for carrying on anti-slavery agitation long before it took the shape of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* or the *Liberator*. For this curious chapter of our history, his book will serve as a most useful source of condensed information. There is, in a foot-note on page 5, an *obiter dictum* touching the "questionable morality of Gen. Washington's motto" (which he took from his ancestors) that perhaps calls for remark in the interest of the Father of his Country. The classical *Exitus acta probat* can hardly be said to be tinged with a "Jesuitical association," or to be correctly translated by "the end justifies the means." Mr. Lossing, adopting this version, praises the motto, on the grounds that the aims of the Washingtons were lofty and sought by legitimate means. It was enough for them, however, merely to assert their own independence of character, trusting to the result to vindicate actions regarded before the event as rash, impolitic, or singular.

—The first five numbers of the new daily evening paper, the *Graphic*, lie before us as we write, and furnish, we imagine, a fair measure of the aims of its conductors and of the artistic capacity of their new photo-lithographic process. The illustrations occupy the first, fourth, fifth, and eighth pages—what would technically be called the "outside form"; half of the eighth page being given up to advertisements, which are, however, treated like the pictures in being printed at one impression from stone and not from metal types. The inside pages are printed in the usual way, and contain the editorial articles, news of the day, and other reading departments of the paper. The pictures fall into three classes—original designs, etched probably on a photographic plate; reproductions from woodcuts; reproductions from lithographs. These are all exhibited side by side on page 5 of No. 2 of the *Graphic*, the effect being decidedly incongruous. None of the copies of wood engravings are so good as the originals, and it is safe to predict that they never could be made so by this process. They are, however, when not marred by imperfect distribution of the ink, good enough to make the *Graphic* a serious rival to the weekly illustrated newspapers in the field of reproduction from foreign sources. The etchings are more successful and more interesting, though here also experience will doubtless bring about some improvement. They are chiefly caricatures, some of which show clever draughtsmanship. Current events have been illustrated in pictures of the inauguration festivities—including street scenes, portraits, views of buildings, interiors, etc.—in a single police incident, and one view of a fire (from a lithographic drawing). These indicate that the process is not yet equal to the task of reproducing photographs from nature, but only from black and white; and apparently we have still to wait for Herr Albert, Mr. Woodbury, or, in this city, Mr. Rockwood, to perfect their processes to suit the needs of a daily publication. That this perfection will be reached we have as little doubt as that the attainment of it would ensure absolute success to an enterprise like the *Graphic*. Success this paper very likely has met with already. It is readable, its news department has improved since its first issue, and to a great many families it can hardly come too often in coming once a day.

—Prof. Brewer's letter on North Carolina usages of speech has brought us a cloud of interesting communications, for which it is quite impracticable to find room. Some of our correspondents are at pains to show that the peculiarities noted are good old English words, still heard as provincialisms in the mother country, and not excluded from Webster's Dictionary. This is true, but their survival in North Carolina is none the less curious. Others point to the fact, also pretty well known, that North Carolinians who have migrated have carried their favorite locutions with them. Southern Illinois and Southwestern Indiana were settled by the "refugees," as they call themselves, from the Carolinas, Tennessee, and Kentucky; and as the district lies between the northern railroad routes, on the one hand, and the Ohio River, on the other, they have remained unmixed and uncontaminated. Here they always speak of "them *mollasses*"; use the adjective *pretty* as a noun—as, of a handsome watch, "Let me look at your pretty"; mean soda-biscuit when they say *bread*; use *grocery* to designate a place where liquor is always sold, generally in connection with a small amount of staple articles—idiomatic for a "saloon"; call any collection of household chattels and utensils *plunder*, etc., etc. If this suggests a theory that there are what might be termed "isothermal" lines in our American usages of speech, it should not be forgotten that a very large proportion of Prof. Brewer's examples are, or were not so very long ago, as familiar in Southern Pennsylvania as in North Carolina (Scotch-Irish Presbyterians being colonists in both these States); and that a smaller but still considerable portion (like *rinse* for *rinse*, etc.) are common throughout the United States. "The fact seems to be, that our inter-State migrations, the late war, and the newspapers have spread our dialect vocabulary so evenly over the country, that one who should now find a true provincialism that is not national, or semi-national, would be entitled to rank as a discoverer." At least one might say so, remembering the confusion of *shall* and *will* even in New England, and the extent to which one hears *like* used with a verb for *as* in the Middle States.

—It remains to be seen whether any act of the late Forty-second Congress will cause it to be remembered more gratefully, or by a greater fraction of mankind, than will its "Act revising and amending the laws relative to the mints, assay offices, and coinage of the United States," which was passed and approved last month. In a communication last week to the New York Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Samuel B. Ruggles had the pleasure of reporting the entire success of his endeavors—in which he had the cordial support of the Chamber itself and of the National Board of Trade—to bring about a metric assimilation of our silver coinage with that of Europe. The act whose title has just been quoted discontinues the coinage of the silver *dollar* as a part of the currency of the United States, but internationalizes the silver *half dollar* "by fixing its weight at 12½ metrical grammes, so that two half dollars will be precisely equivalent to the five-franc silver coin of Europe and its equivalents, and will circulate by their side on terms of perfect equality in all the nations of the world using the franc system." "The wide diffusion and popularization of this international coin," continues Mr. Ruggles, "extending through nearly one hundred and fifty degrees of longitude, from the Golden Gate on the Pacific to the mouth of the Dardanelles, will moreover exert an efficient and beneficial influence in hastening the necessary reform in most if not all of the other silver coinages of the world." That it is also a most important step towards the eventual unification of the different coinages of gold, cannot be doubted; and "the friends of international coinage may now reasonably indulge the hope, that the enlightened nations of the European world will all unite, ere long, in carrying into practical effect the memorable and emphatic declaration at St. Helena, by the first Napoleon, more than half a century ago, that 'among the civilizing agencies most needed in Europe was a common money.'"

HAZARD'S SANTO DOMINGO.*

THE merits of this book may be summed up in a few words. It gives a condensed history, borrowed from a great variety of sources, of both parts of the island of San Domingo; and it describes in a readable manner the author's experiences of travel there in 1871, on the heels of, and partly in company with, the United States Commissioners. The illustrations are of a really helpful sort, many being reproduced from rare and curious works; there is a tolerable map of the island (not so minute or so distinct, however, as that which accompanies Redpath's 'Guide to Hayti'), and a copious bibliography, in which we may note, in passing, the insertion of James Montgomery's poem, 'The West Indies,' and the omission of Miss Martineau's 'Hour and the Man'; and, finally, the appendix contains sundry documents and statistics which decidedly heighten the value of the book for purposes

* 'Santo Domingo, Past and Present; with a Glance at Hayti. By Samuel Hazard, author of "Cuba with Pen and Pencil." Maps and numerous illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1873.

of reference. Read merely for entertainment, it will disappoint in the historical portion by a want of clearness, and in the narrative by a certain awkwardness of style and grammatical carelessness, of which the following passage will serve as an example (p. 174):

"For here it might truly be said that *the aspect of nature* is beautiful and grand, and, seen in all its magnificence of luxuriant tropical vegetation that reaches to the very mountain-peaks, is *the place where* apply those hymn lines so familiar to us all—

'Where every prospect pleases, and only man is vile.'"

When we inform our readers that Mr. Hazard is a warm advocate of annexation, they will readily infer from the line of poetry quoted by him (and they will not be mistaken) that he is frank and honest. But if we would be the same, we must add that he formed a much better opinion of the Dominican of to-day than is expressed in Bishop Heber's verse, which, for the rest, he repeats to himself on shipboard before landing. To the *bon naturel* of the population he constantly bears witness, without concealing aspects of their character and daily life which hardly invite a closer acquaintance and political alliance with them on the part of the people of the United States. Thus, near the capital, he visits a village school (p. 223):

"Between each pupil I was astonished to find a gamecock attached to a sort of perch; and on my asking the children for an explanation, they said, 'Oh! they belong to the schoolmaster, who fights them on Sunday.' This functionary was out, but I afterwards met him, and found him to be an intelligent colored man, highly amused at my surprise at such new means of education, he explaining by a shrug of the shoulders and the remark, 'Cosa Dominicana.'"

Before he left the city, Mr. Hazard's surprise was somewhat tempered by the following adventure (p. 229):

"As we desired to satisfy our curiosity with a view of the Dominican cockpit, we paid a visit there in the early afternoon. The place was crowded, the pit being only a small place or circle of about fifty feet radius, much humbler than those of its Cuban neighbor. We mounted up to the top seat by means of a ladder, for a standing place; but on Damion Baez, the brother of the President, perceiving us, he very kindly offered us seats below in the select part; but, as we only wished to stay a few moments, we declined his offer."

At the church in Cotuy our author is again shocked, though somewhat differently (p. 299):

"As showing the utter simplicity of the religion of these people, we noticed there was placed in the curtained niche of an alcove a wax figure, nearly life-size, of Christ bearing the Cross, which of itself was horrible; but in the midst of other decorations, of bits of gold paper and paper flowers, a highly-colored gorgeous label had been taken from a vermicelli box and pasted at the foot of the figure of Christ. If this label had been in some foreign tongue, it might be supposed that it remained there in utter ignorance by priest and people of what it was; but there it was in Spanish, as fine an advertisement as I ever saw, that Farrell & Son, Barcelona, made fine vermicelli for soups."

A portrait of President Baez—the ruler, by the way, of a state having about the area of Ohio, with fewer inhabitants than an eighth or tenth-rate city in the United States—is given on page 215, and he is further described as "a courtly, pleasant man, of medium height and agreeable appearance," who impresses Mr. Hazard "as a perfectly upright man, and that seems to be generally the impression made." His integrity, however, has survived some strange mutations; for, being already in exile, he forsook his country during the Spanish occupation (1831–65), took the oath of allegiance to Spain, and was made a General of Division; then turned patriot once more, combining with Cabral (who had executed a like tergiversation) to offer Geffard, of Hayti, part of the territory of San Domingo in return for aid in expelling the Spaniards; then, when Cabral had come uppermost, and had, in his distress for money, offered to lease the Bay of Samaná to the United States, denounced him (1868) in a revolutionary manifesto for proposing "the sale of your country"—"to sell you to the foreigners, Dominicans!" Being made President again, he at once prepared to sell out his country to the same foreigner, and, failing in his negotiations with the Government of the United States, in which a severe moralist might detect some obliquity but for Baez's imperfect familiarity with the English language, he has at last, in a wholly unprecedented manner, sold out the substance of Dominican nationality to a company of traders, speculators, and philanthropists, who are doubtless particularly impressed by his uprightness.

If Mr. Hazard were a mere advocate, which he is very far from being, he would have suppressed those passages in Dominican history which exhibit the periodic attempts, during the past quarter of a century, to attach the island to some power, American or European, strong enough to deliver the inhabitants from themselves. The "Republic" was but five years old, and Baez had just been elected President for the first time (in 1849), when, as is

stated in Chapter XIV., "he was waited on by a deputation from the Cibao district, bearing a petition signed by the most prominent men of all classes, asking him to open negotiations with the United States for the purpose of annexation." This measure was opposed by Baez, on the sufficient ground that the United States was a slave-holding country. His successor, Santana, in 1856, endeavored to lease the Bay of Samaná to the United States, and a treaty was actually prepared by the agent of President Pierce; but this measure excited so much discontent that Santana retired to make way for Baez again. When the latter was driven into exile, Santana reappeared at the head of affairs, and, "suddenly and almost without consultation, either of the people of Dominica or their rulers, threw himself into the arms of Spain, giving up to its authority, in May, 1861, the entire possession of the Spanish part of the island." Spain was not, however, his first choice. "Santana seems to have been really desirous of annexing the island to the United States; but in this, it is said, he was frustrated by the threats and opposition of the French Consul-General at Port-au-Prince, Maxime Raybaud. He then offered it to France, and finally to Spain." When the offer was accepted, he called the district commanders together, and instructed them "how they were to treat the people in regard to securing their votes." The people, after making the desired plébiscite, naturally found themselves deceived and "betrayed," more *Latino*; and then began a dreadful conflict between tyrants and rebels, before the termination of which, as we have seen, Baez and Cabral were planning to make a Nice-and-Savoy exchange of a valuable province for a military saviour. A few years later, Cabral, denounced by Baez, again put up the Bay of Samaná in the United States market; and a twelvemonth later still, Baez, denounced by Cabral and Luperon as an infamous traitor, exercised the same authority for identically the same end. Here are seven distinct attempts in twenty years to alienate the territory or to sink the nationality of the Dominicans, government all the while succeeding government with the rapidity with which sharks' teeth are renewed, in "the way governments are made in this famous island. A few hundred people gather together, and shout 'Vive Cabral!' 'Vive Polanco!' and the fortunate chief declares himself the government."

As Baez kept the country districts advised of the coming of the United States commissioners, it would not have been difficult for him to manufacture "public sentiment" as Santana had done before him. It would, nevertheless, have been quite unnecessary, to judge by the glimpses which Mr. Hazard gives of their procedure. Always declaring their official character, being treated as national guests wherever they moved, and travelling as rapidly as the miserable state of a tropical country without roads permitted, they courted deception even if they avoided it. That they did not avoid it—that they were deceived themselves as to the nature of their mission—is to us perfectly clear from Mr. Hazard's interested account. This is what took place at Civeco—"a congregation of thatched huts around an open space called a plaza; and the statistics of the town are complete," says Mr. Hazard, "when I state there are fifteen houses and seventy-five people." The narrative continues (p. 283):

"Orders were immediately given to gather the people of the village together before our departure in the morning, in order that the Commissioner might hear their views. Bright and early, therefore, next day came a perfectly black negro with more clothes on than most of those we had seen. He informed the Commissioner that he was the 'Commandante.' Seating himself in a hammock, he, in an extremely consequential manner, was proceeding to give us an idea of his great importance, when he was abruptly cut short, and told to allow the people to come in, as the Commissioner wished to see them and not the dignitaries. A number of all classes then came in, to whom Mr. White made an address, and they showed themselves very enthusiastic at the idea of *having perpetual peace given them*, some being affected even to tears," etc.

It would be singular if any "people" in a similarly distracted condition should not weep at the prospect of such a gift; but it is not a little surprising that the Commissioner should have felt himself authorized to promise it, or considered it his mission to do aught else than ask questions with the view of ascertaining how widespread and genuine a desire for annexation *already existed*. We might suspect Mr. Hazard of giving, in the phrase we have italicized, rather his own equivalent for "annexation" than an exact summary of Mr. White's eloquence; but elsewhere (on p. 334) he speaks of Mr. White's sense of the "responsibility" resting upon him, as if it were responsibility different from that of a trusty reporter, and gives an abstract of an address in which he "spoke feelingly of the wealth and happiness that would be produced naturally by their alliance with some strong power; and he hoped, for their sakes, it would be with the United States." This, we submit, was not exactly the neutral attitude of an enquirer after facts; nor was "explaining fully the nature of our Government," however kindly an act, one required by the duties imposed upon the Commissioners. The "one cry" which Mr. Hazard heard, "Give us peace and safety, and good roads," was doubtless answered satisfactorily by declaring that the United

States would furnish all these desiderata; but it is not manifest that any power capable of giving the same assurances would not as soon be the object of a longing for annexation.

Peace, we need not remark—especially "perpetual peace"—is by no means one of the blessings which the extension of the United States' authority to San Domingo would bring in its train. The acquisition of the island has been termed by President Grant "an adherence to the Monroe Doctrine," and that doctrine is worthless if it does not mean a resort to war in case its application is resisted. It would be much more correctly predicated of the seizure of Cuba, and that this would not be one of the consequences of the occupation of San Domingo, furnishing a new base for filibustering, no man can foretell. The United States and their new citizens must therefore prepare for naval warfare with Spain, and also border warfare with the Haytians, who, stimulated by Cabral and Luperon, would doubtless not readily relinquish their claims to the upper course of the Artibonite. Not only must new forts be built and old ones repaired for the defence of what would become one of the weakest strategical points in the American Union, but so long as the island owned a divided allegiance, the occupation of San Domingo must needs be a military one, of which the burdens and the active service would certainly interfere with cockfighting and the cultivation of plantains. More or less clumsily we should have to ape the "imperial" system of colonial administration, and how well fitted our civil service is for this sort of business, is unfortunately not conjectural. In place of Spanish pro-consuls and carpet-baggers, we should have Northern, Western, and Southern—the South might probably experience a temporary relief. We should have violations of the Haytian frontier, smuggling in both directions, and inevitable collisions. Sooner or later we should overrun the western end of the island, annexing a still more degraded population, a depreciated paper currency (\$400 to \$1), and a debt to France. Mr. Hazard, indeed, says "God forbid," as "it will take years of missionary enterprise and instruction to prepare the Haytians for the blessings of civil liberty as enjoyed by us"; but he and the Commissioners expect the annexation of San Domingo to "develop among its dusky neighbors a desire to share in the blessings and advantages which it is the boast of Americans that American institutions bring."

There would be no end to the objections that might be raised against annexing a people which has thus far shown itself incapable of self-government—the *sine qua non* of a healthy expansion of our political system; and we shall only direct the attention of our readers to the curiously complicated land tenure, which would open up such a fine field for gentlemen of the legal profession. It is, apart from the difficulties it presents to rapid colonization, a very profitable study of the way in which one Latin race has evaded the equal division of property, to which the French with their *partage forcé* have succumbed. We conclude our review by expressing our conviction, fortified by the reading of Mr. Hazard's work, that the annexation movement has been most powerfully promoted in this country and most heartily seconded by persons peculiarly susceptible to the charms of natural scenery, and that what they are anxious to annex is not rather indifferent mineral deposits, or a convenient aaval station, or a hundred and fifty thousand creoles and negroes of all shades, but the superb landscape of the "Vega Real." The vista of annexation which this principle of selection opens up to us is so formidable that we may congratulate ourselves on having few "venerable cosmopolites," like Dr. S. G. Howe, who, on receiving a serenade from some Dominicans, said (p. 494):

"People too often overlook or forget the good they have, and think only of their sufferings and wants. Since I have been here people have been talking continually to me about the disadvantages under which they labor—of the convulsions, and civil wars, and oppressions, and all that. *There is another side of the picture. I find myself in danger of having my reason carried away by my senses.* All my senses are, as it were, subjected by the surroundings. I find the most beautiful island I have ever seen. The balmy atmosphere, the mild, even temperature—everything addresses itself to my sense of *bien-être*. My eyes are dazzled by the beauty of enchanting scenery. My sense of taste is gratified by the luscious and abundant fruits that are everywhere around us; and now comes your music, and so charms away my sense of hearing that I find all my senses enlisted and carried away in your favor; and although I may not say what I shall advise my countrymen to do on the subject of annexing the Dominican Republic, I feel strongly inclined to annex myself and my family to this beautiful island."

MILITARY AND RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.*

THE amateurish sort of people, the dilettanti who prize their picture-book just as the infant does his primer, may thank with rather uncommon ardor their benefactor, the Bibliophile Jacob, for adding his 'Vie Militaire et Religieuse au Moyen Age' to those former beautiful works of his,

* Vie Militaire et Religieuse au Moyen Age et à l'Epoque de la Renaissance. Par Paul Lacroix (Bibliophile Jacob). Paris: Firmin Didot Frères. New York: F. W. Christern.

the 'Arts au Moyen Age,' and the 'Usages et Costumes au Moyen Age.' The luckiest collector, he who tenderly keeps in his best inlaid cabinet a few brilliant vellums, can show but specimens of a style; but this author and his publishers exhibit the selected proofs of historical fact, a sum of real evidence and testimony whose style is but an incident, and whose documentary value is what makes collecting a respectable pursuit. The present work seems to be even more rich and attractive than the 'Arts au Moyen Age'; the publishers have filled it with curious booty from the richest libraries of Europe, most minutely and expensively reproduced. They have turned loose into the commonwealth of literature the choice of such miniatures, carvings, and illuminations as are treasured in ancient capitals and locked up by kings. To copy even faultily such curious records would be to piece out the usefulness of a limited and perishable kind of material; how perishable, we are reminded by the explanation to one of the pictures here given, an ancient view of the Place de Grève at Paris, with Notre Dame before the loss of the central spire, and a Procession of the Host—a picture now perpetuated only by this engraving, the original having been given by M. Ambroise Firmin Didot to the city of Paris and involved in the burning of the Hôtel de Ville in 1871. But the reproduction is by no means faulty, being managed by Messrs. Firmin Didot Frères with all the art of modern color-printing. Chromo-lithography, in the hands of Paris artists, lends itself to counterfeiting old painting in minium and gold with a cunning that takes away all the vulgarity from an art formerly known by its infelicities only; and the woodcuts, repeating old etchings and block-work, assume the guise of the middle ages with absolute fidelity. Cuts requiring such enormous care as Dürer's "Knight and Death," for example, are boldly grappled with, on a reduced scale, by the wood-engraver; not with perfect success, indeed, for a comparison shows "Death" to have lost the vague ideality of Dürer, and "Sin" its sublime unconsciousness of good, but still with a kind of wholesale and general transference. We wonder how many hundreds this single print would cost an American publisher, at the hands, say, of Mr. Linton. The chromo copies are still more elaborate, and only yield their assumption of smooth faultlessness on a pitiless confrontation with their sources. We apply, for example, one of the photographs brought over by any tourist of Orcagna's "Triumph of Death," at Pisa, to its colored imitation in this work. It would not do to say that the strange intellectual attraction of the fresco, a grand picture-poem executed before the introduction of oil-painting in Italy, is quite to be found in this miniature; the faces are tame and cast in a feeble mould, the Amazon queen who leans upon her hand is wanting in the fine reverie of Orcagna's heroine, the hermit is less earnest, the horses are less expressive, the skeleton shrinking from the worm is tame in movement; but we should consider the reduced scale and the prosaic vehicle, and not expect Orcagna's epical quality in mechanical work, which does, after all, satisfy us beyond the photograph in matters of color, neatness, and convenience of multiplication. In wood-engraving, the transfer of so critical a masterpiece as Holbein's "Dance of Death" is very ably carried out. The chromos themselves are much less inadequate than some with a higher aim in other volumes in which Paris bookmakers have tried to convey to us, by a process of forcing the Genie into the bottle, the splendors of canvases from the Louvre. The frontispiece to the work is a bewitching bit of lithography, a prim and delicate portrait of Queen Anne of Brittany, from her *Heures*; a brilliant chromo is an "Embarkation of Crusaders," from a fourteenth century Neapolitan miniature; another most refined in color is that from the Psalter of René of Anjou, representing the king humbly walking in the streets of Aix after the Sacrament; one of "Angels presenting the Elect" (who stand on the angelic shoulders) is a curious rapture of Memling's; one unmatched for simplicity shows the Chevalier of the Gray Arms, Noble Heart, disputing in a tournament at Basle for the immaculateness of Mary's conception—finally unseating his adversary, and thus proving the dogma to the satisfaction of both; a very careful one, filled with figures, is the copy of part of Fra Angelico's "Paradise," the same picture which Mr. Arnold, covering it for a momentary purpose with an excess of irony, has libelled with so ludicrous a description: "The elect," says the professor of poetry, "are going round in a ring on long grass under laden fruit-trees; two of them, more restless than the others, are flying up a battlemented street—a street blank with all the ennui of the Middle Ages." One cannot be cruel to angels and their brother, the Frate, with impunity, and the faces, even in this lithographed copy, strike a terror into the spirit, making a man afraid lest he be in their sight merely cultured and blasé and literary.

We may not indicate with even a word the riches of the book in mere curiosities, the havoc of many a collection. There is the curious *graffito* from Rome, the earliest representation, in fact, of the Crucifixion, showing the Christian Aleximenes adoring a horse-headed caricature on a cross;

there is the true semblance of Prester John, after Cesare Vecellio; there are Christopher Columbus's own sketches, in scrawls representing his ships and his discovery of the Antilles; there are the direful-looking giants constructed in the sixteenth century to scatter arrows or overrun an army; likenesses of the Virgin, whether by Saint Luke, who shows her like a Roman priestess, or by the Byzantine panel-painters, who show her like a mulatress; the strangest of portraits, exhibiting Godefroy of Bouillon overwhelmingly crowned with the instruments of the Passion, and passively cantering to his oriental throne like a market-woman of Brussels, where the picture was invented; the veritable Inscription on the Cross, as found by Helena; and many more such rarities, here brought to the eye in one sweeping harvest, by images often quite as authentic as the so-called originals, treasured with infinite jealousy in many an odd corner of the world.

The volume will be oftener skimmed for its relief of embellishment than penetrated for its chain of argument. It is, however, an able and superlatively neat and shapely arrangement of facts bearing on mediæval history. It shows the genius of the Middle Age at its divine task, rearranging a world of ruin, correcting pagan profligacy by its religious spirit, and pagan insubordination by its military spirit, and ordering both through its two great faculties of fidelity and strength. It is not here that we shall see, as we seem to see in Mr. Lecky and in some of the materialists, the Church presented as crushing civilization. M. Lacroix, in a more tranquil estimate, shows her as she really was, the placid envelope and fosterer of science in times of shock. At the fated overflow of the North and East across the Roman Empire, the powerful Church was able to carry art and letters into her retreat, and hide them there, not cut off, but suspended. It is a pity, though—for it repels at once whole classes of his readers—that M. Lacroix has thought it his duty to make his presentment so very official. With him the Papacy is the blameless Hind of Dryden. The "reformation prétendue" is only a sum of villainies. Calvin, of course, is a sanguinary recusant, murderer of the physician Servetus and the poet Gruet. Luther's Reform is disposed of in the chapter called "Heresies," and while there are many pictures of Protestants torturing Catholics, there are none of Catholics punishing Protestants. The Huguenots, in power at Angoulême, are pictured as starving Romanists until they bite one another. "Even Protestant writers" (the example being Mr. Cobbett) are cited as condemning the "violences inouïes" of the filthy rebel Henry VIII. The Spanish Inquisition is treated as a wholly political institution, a system rebuked by Rome; yet M. Lacroix, with a little inconsistency, boasts of the institution thus condemned by the Church as being blessed with complete success: "The purpose, quite political, of the Spanish monarchs was carried out; for the maintenance of religious unity"—a rather soft phrase, that, for the torments of the office—"saved this kingdom from the bloody wars which at the time were desolating France and England. . . . In the Netherlands," adds the writer, safely, "the Inquisition had not the same success." The Low Countries, on their setting up for themselves, "surpassed Spain in the refinement of cruelties invented against the Catholics"; and a print is given of John Jerome of Edam, in the hands of the "gueux de Hollande," his belly lacerated by tortured dormice. As for Luther, the engraving of him, like those of all the Reformers, is supernally ugly, giving one the impression that the devil must have returned the inkstand upon the monk's own countenance; and his literary labors are thus described:

"The indefatigable, the inexhaustible Luther, by turns a Demosthenes, a Petronius, a peasant of the Danube, a beer-pot comrade, has diluted, through the course of fifteen thousand folio pages, the inanity of Protestant views—a chaos of eloquence, poetry, visionary passions, evident truths, daring lies, gall, hate, jealousy, and mire."

There is surely a little too much feeling here. It is very well for the Bibliophile Jacob, writing in France a national and a partially educational work, to uphold the national religion. The Church is half his subject, and the Church he might properly defend amid the profound courtesy of such Protestant readers as will use his work for reference. But if he could have taken the philosophical, rather than the merely orthodox, aspect of his theme, his chance of living as a reputable authority to the end of the century would be better. Opinions, even balanced and studied opinions, are dying around us, in this sharp age, like locusts in a storm; but opinions on the Infallible Past of the Immutible Church are rather specially of the nature of ephemeras, and flutter down to the ground before we can singe them, particularly when they are winged with the modern eloquence we should expect from a feuilletoniste writing in the back office of M. Veuillot's *Univers*.

Proportional Representation; or, The Representation of Successive Majorities in Federal, State, Municipal, Corporate, and Primary Elections. By Charles R. Buckalew, late U. S. Senator from Pennsylvania. With an Ap-

pendix, by John G. Freeze, Counsellor-at-law. (Philadelphia: John Campbell & Son. 1872. 8vo, pp. 300.)—Ex-Senator Buckalew, of Pennsylvania, is one of the very few among our public men who look upon politics as a science which needs to be studied—not a mere scramble of empirical usages; and, what is better, who has not merely studied carefully, but actually succeeded, by his own personal influence, in introducing political reforms—on a small scale, it is true, and in a narrow sphere, but of genuine value, and whose future power may be exceedingly great. The volume before us consists of his reports, speeches, and addresses. It is no disadvantage—although it may be a little misleading—that the scope of the book is less wide than its title. It is not a complete discussion of Personal Representation, but only of that one form of Personal Representation known as the cumulative vote, which is especially associated with Mr. Buckalew's name.

It must, after all, be admitted that, in spite of the theoretical perfection of the Hare plan, and the many advantages of the "Free List," or Geneva Plan, it is the Cumulative plan that the American people have decided to try first; everything which can make its theory complete, and help to elucidate its workings, is therefore to be welcomed as the most timely contribution to the discussion. In regard to the theory, we will here simply call attention to the felicitous term "Successive Majorities" used by Mr. Buckalew. The average voter, who has firmly fixed at the bottom of his political creed the doctrine that "the majority should rule," is somewhat repelled, or, at least, indifferent, when one proposes the representation of the minority; he has to be argued into recognizing its justice, and even then he suspects a concealed trick. Mr. Buckalew says nothing about representing a minority, but shows that when the bare majority has obtained one member, it is just that the next member should be returned by the majority of those that remain unrepresented; and so on in successive steps. This is an argument that will reach many minds that are obtuse to Mr. Mills's and Mr. Hare's reasoning.

The most interesting part of the book, however, to those at least who are already familiar with the discussion, is the chapters which give the statutes already in operation in Pennsylvania and Illinois, and especially which describe their workings in practice. It is easy to point out—as we have ourselves done—the theoretical objections to the Cumulative plan, and to show that it still renders possible an undue representation of the majority and even of the minority. But, after all, we must confess that when any community has gone so far as to recognize the evils of the present methods, and

set seriously about amending them, such a community is likely, in this very process, to develop a political morality which will demand fair play; and we must confess further, that with political morality a bad system will work well, and without it the best system will fail. So far as it has been tried, the Cumulative system appears to have worked very well, both in Illinois and, especially, in Pennsylvania. On this head we get some very interesting facts. It is, by the way, not generally known that the "Bloomsburg plan" has been applied, by a general statute, to all the boroughs in the State. In an election in Bloomsburg, April, 1870, there was a simple majority vote for President of Council, in which the successful candidate had 11 majority: of the six councilmen, the Democratic party (the majority) obtained 3, the Republican 2, and an irregular "People's" ticket obtained the sixth by cumulation. At a second election, in October, all offices but one were to be filled in pairs. Consequently, it was quickly recognized that they were to be divided between the two parties, and the only contest was upon a single auditor, in which the Republican was elected—"showing," says the author, "that, under the old plan of voting, the party ordinarily in the minority would have swept all the offices voted for except one constable"—a very popular officer, who received a very large vote. This experiment is satisfactory, as far as partisanship is concerned; it does not give us any clue, however, to the character of the officers, and there would certainly be room, where a party was sure of electing its men, for careless or corrupt nominations. To meet this point, we have an election in the same month in Northumberland borough. Each party nominated three candidates; but one of the Republican candidates was considered to have got his nomination unfairly. The friends of the disappointed candidate bolted the regular nomination, voted a "plumper of six votes for their friend, and carried him through the contest triumphant" (p. 252).

So far, we have everything as satisfactory as could be desired; and in the "Columbia County Rules of Nomination" we have the same principle applied to the caucus. These rules are given at length, p. 257, and appear to be excellent. As they were adopted two years ago, they must be already in operation, and we wish that the volume contained an account of their practical workings. This is quite as important as the other, for in nine cases out of ten it is the caucus, not the election, that determines our rulers. Of course, a few experiments, when a system is new, cannot be taken as a criterion of its future workings, but we have every reason to be encouraged by those instanced.

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THE WEEK IN TRADE AND FINANCE.

MARCH 10, 1873.

THERE is no change to report in the condition of the money market.

Borrowers on stock collaterals have paid as high as seven per cent. per annum, and one-eighth per cent. commission in addition. These rates softened for a time after the Comptroller's call, for a statement, showing the condition on the 28th of February of the national banks, was published; but the softening was temporary, and the close of the week saw the rate quite up to one-eighth per cent. per diem.

The report that \$44,000,000 legal tenders would be reissued caused considerable comment on the Street. We are glad to say that the proposition receives little favor from business men in this city. Beyond the fact that an inflation of the currency is in itself an unsound measure, and of doubtful legality, the idea prevails that any relief afforded to the money market would be ephemeral and more than offset in its benefits by the increased cost of all productions. We sincerely hope that all the talk about a "right" of the Secretary of the Treasury to inflate the currency at pleasure is merely for the purpose of justifying Mr. Boutwell in what he has already done, and, if any "right" really exists, that he will look further into the propriety of such inflation than he has apparently yet done, and will cease listening to the clamorous voices of men imprudently expanded in their business, and now, when in trouble, rushing to the Government for aid. It is really time that the Treasury Department adopted a policy and lived up to it; and, as the present Administration has another four years' term before it, and all parties admit that return to specie payment is desirable, it is certainly useless to seek to accomplish that result by giving the people any more irredeemable paper.

The weekly statement of the city banks is favorable, mainly so on account of the decrease of their deposits. The national banks, which are obliged by law to hold 25 per cent. in legal tenders and specie against their liabilities, are in better condition actually than the statement would show, because this also includes the reports of the largest State banks.

The total liabilities of the national banks are \$200,474,300, against which they hold \$51,242,300 in legal tenders and specie, or \$1,123,725 in excess of the arbitrary amount required.

The following is the statement of the New York City banks for the weeks ending March 1 and 8:

	March 1.	March 8.	Differences.
Loans.....	\$281,344,900	\$280,351,300	Dec. \$993,600
Specie.....	16,370,500	17,149,600	Inc. 779,100
Circulation.....	27,601,300	27,801,200	Inc. 199,900
Deposits.....	202,066,100	199,508,700	Dec. 2,557,400
Legal tenders.....	40,724,000	39,473,000	Dec. 1,251,000

The following shows the relation between the total reserve and the total liabilities:

	March 1.	March 8.	Differences.
Specie.....	\$16,370,500	\$17,149,600	Inc. \$779,100
Legal tenders.....	40,724,000	39,473,000	Dec. 1,251,000
Total reserve.....	\$57,094,500	\$56,622,600	Dec. \$471,900
Circulation.....	27,601,300	27,801,200	Inc. 199,900
Deposits.....	202,066,100	199,508,700	Dec. 2,557,400
Total liabilities.....	\$299,667,400	\$297,309,900	Dec. \$2,357,500
25 per cent. reserve.....	57,416,850	56,827,475	
Deficiency in legal reserve.....	322,350	204,875	

The following table shows the relative condition of the National and the State banks:

	Loans.	Specie.	Legal Tenders.
State.....	\$38,583,100	\$1,541,700	\$3,838,600
National.....	241,768,200	15,607,900	35,634,400
Total.....	\$280,351,300	\$17,149,600	\$39,473,000
		Net Deposits.	Circulation.
State.....		\$26,792,600	\$43,000
National.....		172,716,100	27,758,200
Total.....		\$199,508,700	\$27,801,200

The leading features of the week in the stock market were the recovery in Panama, the fluctuation in Pacific Mail, and the rise in Harlem. Panama opened at 106 $\frac{1}{4}$ on Monday, rising to 113. On Thursday it touched 119, and on Saturday the closing quotation was 122 $\frac{1}{2}$ bid, after selling at 123 $\frac{1}{2}$ during the day. The stock of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company early in the week made a still further decline to 49, which proved "hard pan." The necessities of the leading operator in the stock caused the selling of a large amount at low prices, which, at the decline, passed into the hands of stronger parties, and at the close of the week the price was 56 $\frac{1}{4}$. Harlem advanced on Saturday to 139 from 127 on Monday. The speculation in this stock during the latter part of the week was quite active, especially so on Saturday, when the prices fluctuated between 133 $\frac{1}{4}$ and 139. The general market has been fairly active, and the feeling generally in favor of higher prices, especially for the better class of stocks, like Central and Hudson or

Lake Shore. We see no reason why the general market should go higher under existing circumstances. It may be that in the Vanderbilt stocks something is going on, at present unknown to the public, likely to increase their value, but what incentive people have to buy such trash as "C. C. and I. C.," Boston, Hartford, and Erie, and Union Pacific, we can't imagine. Pacific Mail and Western Union are enormous foot-balls to be knocked about, and as they pretend to have some intrinsic value, and the former has recently declined about 54 per cent., it is not to be wondered at that people buy them. Taking prices as they are, and looking at the condition of the money market, the gold market, and the amount of foreign credit loaned to Wall Street, our advice to those outside of speculation who contemplate entering it is, "don't do it," at least not now.

The following shows the highest and lowest sales of the leading stocks at the Stock Exchange for the week ending March 8:

	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wed'day.	Thursday.	Friday.	Saturday.	Sales Sh's
N. Y. C. & H. R.	101 $\frac{1}{2}$ 102 $\frac{1}{2}$	101 $\frac{1}{2}$ 103 $\frac{1}{2}$	102 $\frac{1}{2}$ 103 $\frac{1}{2}$	102 $\frac{1}{2}$ 103 $\frac{1}{2}$	103 $\frac{1}{2}$ 104 $\frac{1}{2}$	104 $\frac{1}{2}$ 105 $\frac{1}{2}$	141,100
Lake Shore.....	91 $\frac{1}{2}$ 92 $\frac{1}{2}$	91 $\frac{1}{2}$ 93 $\frac{1}{2}$	93 $\frac{1}{2}$ 94 $\frac{1}{2}$	93 $\frac{1}{2}$ 95 $\frac{1}{2}$	95 $\frac{1}{2}$ 96 $\frac{1}{2}$	96 $\frac{1}{2}$ 97 $\frac{1}{2}$	274,400
Erie.....	62 $\frac{1}{2}$ 64 $\frac{1}{2}$	63 $\frac{1}{2}$ 64 $\frac{1}{2}$	64 $\frac{1}{2}$ 65 $\frac{1}{2}$	65 $\frac{1}{2}$ 66 $\frac{1}{2}$	65 $\frac{1}{2}$ 66 $\frac{1}{2}$	64 $\frac{1}{2}$ 65 $\frac{1}{2}$	130,000
Union Pacific.....	34 $\frac{1}{2}$ 34 $\frac{1}{2}$	34 $\frac{1}{2}$ 35 $\frac{1}{2}$	35 $\frac{1}{2}$ 36 $\frac{1}{2}$	35 $\frac{1}{2}$ 36 $\frac{1}{2}$	35 $\frac{1}{2}$ 36 $\frac{1}{2}$	35 $\frac{1}{2}$ 36 $\frac{1}{2}$	58,100
Chl. & N. W.	81 81	81 82	81 $\frac{1}{2}$ 82 $\frac{1}{2}$	81 $\frac{1}{2}$ 83	81 $\frac{1}{2}$ 81 $\frac{1}{2}$	81 $\frac{1}{2}$ 81 $\frac{1}{2}$	2,800
Do.	88 $\frac{1}{2}$ 89	89 $\frac{1}{2}$ 89 $\frac{1}{2}$	89 $\frac{1}{2}$ 89 $\frac{1}{2}$	89 $\frac{1}{2}$ 89 $\frac{1}{2}$	89 $\frac{1}{2}$ 89 $\frac{1}{2}$	89 $\frac{1}{2}$ 89 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,100
N. J. Central.....	102 $\frac{1}{2}$ 103 $\frac{1}{2}$	103 $\frac{1}{2}$ 104	103 $\frac{1}{2}$ 103 $\frac{1}{2}$	103 $\frac{1}{2}$ 104	103 $\frac{1}{2}$ 104	104 104	800
Rock Island.....	112 113 $\frac{1}{2}$	112 $\frac{1}{2}$ 113 $\frac{1}{2}$	113 $\frac{1}{2}$ 114 $\frac{1}{2}$	113 $\frac{1}{2}$ 114	114 114	114 $\frac{1}{2}$ 115 $\frac{1}{2}$	50,100
Mil. & St. Paul....	52 53	52 53	52 $\frac{1}{2}$ 53	52 $\frac{1}{2}$ 53 $\frac{1}{2}$	53 53	53 53	6,900
Do.	73 $\frac{1}{2}$ 73 $\frac{1}{2}$	73 73 $\frac{1}{2}$	73 $\frac{1}{2}$ 73 $\frac{1}{2}$	73 $\frac{1}{2}$ 74	73 $\frac{1}{2}$ 73 $\frac{1}{2}$	73 $\frac{1}{2}$ 73 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,500
Wabash.....	72 73	72 73 $\frac{1}{2}$	72 $\frac{1}{2}$ 73 $\frac{1}{2}$	72 $\frac{1}{2}$ 73 $\frac{1}{2}$	73 73	73 73	5,400
D. L. & Western....	100 $\frac{1}{2}$ 101 $\frac{1}{2}$	101 101	101 101	101 $\frac{1}{2}$ 101 $\frac{1}{2}$	101 $\frac{1}{2}$ 101 $\frac{1}{2}$	101 $\frac{1}{2}$ 101 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,200
B. & E. Erie.....	44 $\frac{1}{2}$ 45 $\frac{1}{2}$	44 $\frac{1}{2}$ 45 $\frac{1}{2}$	45 $\frac{1}{2}$ 45 $\frac{1}{2}$	45 $\frac{1}{2}$ 46	45 $\frac{1}{2}$ 46	45 $\frac{1}{2}$ 46	9,300
C. & W.	38 $\frac{1}{2}$ 40 $\frac{1}{2}$	38 $\frac{1}{2}$ 40 $\frac{1}{2}$	38 $\frac{1}{2}$ 40 $\frac{1}{2}$	39 $\frac{1}{2}$ 40 $\frac{1}{2}$	39 $\frac{1}{2}$ 40 $\frac{1}{2}$	39 $\frac{1}{2}$ 40 $\frac{1}{2}$	54,100
C. C. & I. C.	38 $\frac{1}{2}$ 40 $\frac{1}{2}$	38 $\frac{1}{2}$ 40 $\frac{1}{2}$	38 $\frac{1}{2}$ 40 $\frac{1}{2}$	39 $\frac{1}{2}$ 40 $\frac{1}{2}$	39 $\frac{1}{2}$ 40 $\frac{1}{2}$	39 $\frac{1}{2}$ 40 $\frac{1}{2}$	81,200
W. U. Tel.	85 $\frac{1}{2}$ 89	85 $\frac{1}{2}$ 88 $\frac{1}{2}$	84 $\frac{1}{2}$ 87 $\frac{1}{2}$	84 $\frac{1}{2}$ 86 $\frac{1}{2}$	86 87 $\frac{1}{2}$	85 $\frac{1}{2}$ 86 $\frac{1}{2}$	352,500
Pacific Mail.....	49 57	51 $\frac{1}{2}$ 56 $\frac{1}{2}$	54 $\frac{1}{2}$ 57 $\frac{1}{2}$	53 $\frac{1}{2}$ 56	55 $\frac{1}{2}$ 57 $\frac{1}{2}$	54 $\frac{1}{2}$ 57	225,300

The report of the president and directors of the Chicago and Alton R. R. Co. has been published. The following statements of the earnings for the past three years is given in the report:

	1870.	1871.	1872.
Gross earnings.....	\$4,849,404 89	\$5,278,910 23	\$5,156,325 71
Expenses.....	2,786,105 85	3,080,844 77	2,277,178 27
Profit.....	\$2,063,299 04	\$2,198,065 46	\$1,879,147 44

"The gross receipts from traffic were \$122,584 52, or about 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. less than those of the preceding year. The net receipts were \$318,938 02, or about 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. less than those of the preceding year.

"The operating expenses of your lines (exclusive of taxes) amount to 61 per cent. of gross receipts; including taxes, 63 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. During 1871 the operating expenses were 56 $\frac{1}{2}$ and 58 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. respectively.

"The causes that have produced this unsatisfactory result may be mainly traced to the 'Chicago Fire,' and are, therefore, exceptional. During the greater part of the year, owing to the destruction of warehouses, it was impossible to obtain storage for grain arriving at Chicago on your line, without resorting to very expensive expedients, the cost of which was charged in the account of Operating Expenses. For a considerable portion of the year storage could not be had at any cost. Traffic in grain to Chicago ceased, and was forced by different channels to other markets."

The above explanation of the unsatisfactory results of the year's business will answer for that of other railroads running westward from Chicago, all of which have been more or less affected by the want of storage accommodation, since the fire, for grain brought to the city.

The Treasury programme for the month includes the purchase of \$1,000,000 5-20s on the 5th and 19th and \$500,000 on the 12th and 26th. On Wednesday, the 5th, the offers of bonds to the Assistant-Treasurer amounted to \$3,097,250, at prices ranging between 113.53 and 114.15. The million was taken at 113.60 and under. The price of gold at the time the awards were made was 115 $\frac{1}{4}$. The market for Governments has remained steady during the week both here and in London. Prices have changed but little, and the list has presented no interesting features.

The Treasury will sell during the present month \$1,000,000 gold, on each alternate Thursday, making \$4,000,000 in all to be sold. Just now the gold market is in a very peculiar position. The price has been advanced to a point at which it actually pays to ship coin from abroad to this country, and the operations of the "clique" engaged in advancing the premium will be watched with interest. The "clique" are reputed to hold \$20,000,000—their control of a large amount being clearly shown on Saturday, when, by withdrawing a portion from the loan market, they were enabled to force borrowers into paying $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ per diem for its use. Fortunately, the mercantile community are not largely short, having very generally purchased, when they needed coin for their business operations, at current quotations. The "clique" is said to be under the leadership of Jay Gould. During the week the price has ranged between 114 $\frac{1}{4}$ and 115 $\frac{1}{4}$.

The total shipments of specie from this port since January 1, 1873, amount to \$11,067,800, against \$3,163,100 for the same time in 1872, \$9,833,900 in 1871, \$5,946,700 in 1870, \$7,258,500 in 1869, and \$14,037,700 in 1863.

